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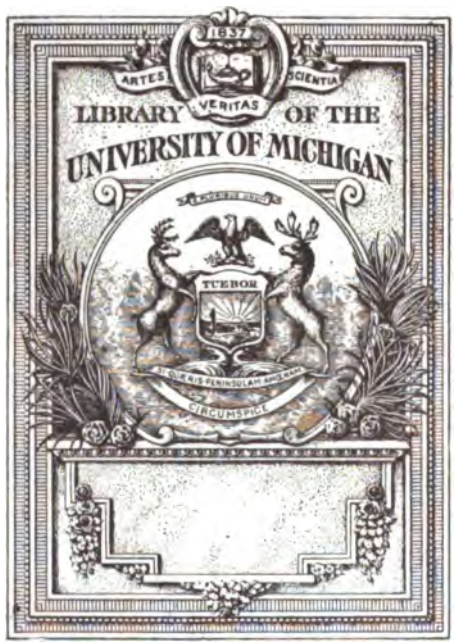
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THE LABOR SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

THE LABOR SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

THE COMMISSION ON FOREIGN INQUIRY
OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

1919

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FOREWORD.

CHARLES MAYER, Chairman of the Commission.

INDUSTRIALLY, the world will be more closely knit together as a result of the great war. True, there will be different national policies in various countries with respect to trade and commerce. But so great will be the exchange of commodities by an enlarged mercantile marine that inevitably buyers and sellers in different countries will become more intimately acquainted and more familiar with one another's methods of production and distribution.

The great problem of labor in its larger phases has many features common to all countries. No country, with respect to its domestic trade policy or labor problems, can be said to be entirely isolated commercially and economically. It will take master minds to work out plans during the period of industrial reconstruction for the betterment of labor conditions and to bring employers and employees to a realizing sense of their local and national obliga-

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tions to the industry in which they are jointly engaged.

There need be no fear of industrial revolution if labor and capital awaken to their duties and responsibilities. In the past, each side has been too insistent in asserting its rights and too unmindful of its obligations. A new spirit in American industry may be looked for confidently, in which the wage-worker will and should be an enlarged beneficiary. But the laborer must also realize that with the betterment of his conditions of labor, a fair schedule of weekly work, and an equitable wage scale in return for his service, he must give to his job the best in him. Society is sympathetic toward labor and its legitimate aspirations; but labor must be careful not to forfeit the good will of society.

The report of our Commission, therefore, is an attempt to portray the larger phases of British and French industrial conditions at the present time. The plan of presentation of the survey on the pages following is based upon a desire to have the picture presented fairly and justly. It is evident, of course, that a report such as the Commission submits can not and should not be in too much detail. It is not a comprehensive treatise, but rather a broad

sketch of labor conditions, and it is hoped it may appeal to business men, wage-earners and all others interested in the highest and best development of American industry and the men and women engaged in it.

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THE LABOR SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

I.

The Commission—Origin, Purpose and Work.

E. A. Quarles, Secretary of the Commission.

A Commission of The National Civic Federation spent four months—February-June, 1919—in Great Britain, with a side trip of three weeks to France, studying certain prominent phases of the post-war relations between employers and the employed and other social problems of the day. The results of its work are given in this volume.

The creation of the Commission was decided upon at a conference of the Industrial Economics Department of The National Civic Federation held in December. This action arose from an expressed desire on the part of many Americans in various walks of life to get as nearly first hand as possible the facts regarding developments of methods in Great Britain and France designed to avoid industrial disputes and to bring the two sides in the "labor question" to a common effort in re-establishing normal production and perhaps inaugurat-

ing a new era in social welfare. A particular purpose contemplated was to ascertain what could lead to benefit in the United States in any measures taken or planned and not in practice here.

The personnel of the Commission, as originally appointed, came to be somewhat reduced in the actual work, illness in several cases the cause. The members who carried on the inquiry abroad were: Charles Mayer (shipping), Chairman; Charles S. Barrett (farmer); Albert F. Bemis (textile manufacturer); J. Grant Forbes (contracting engineer); James W. Sullivan (typographical trade unionist); Andrew Parker Nevin (attorney-at-law); E. A. Quarles, Secretary.

In the resolution outlining the Commission's work, the principal concrete subjects indicated for investigation were:

> The methods employed in Great Britain and France with regard to the relations of employers and employees.
>
> The program calling for the shop steward and shop committee system, as part of "the democratic control of industry."
>
> The outcome to date of the recommendations of the Whitley parliamentary committee for the setting up of joint standing industrial councils.
>
> The housing problem.

While other points were included in the resolution, the Commission found in the foregoing subjects sufficient to occupy its time and attention, involving as they did a necessary general survey of labor conditions in Great Britain and France. In present interest and possible outcome the issues brought up by these subjects overshadowed the others, the broader facts they presented leading to a somewhat definite understanding of the national situation.

While in London, where it established working offices, the Commission usually carried on its work of interviewing and holding sessions of inquiry as a body, though individual members followed each his own specialty besides. While its general plans had been laid out previous to leaving New York, much aid was extended to it in Great Britain by many public-spirited persons both in private and official life, with consequent modification of the set program.

A pleasant incident, profitable as a general introduction, was a formal welcome to the Commission, soon after its arrival, given under the auspices of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, a voluntary body similar in general purpose to The National Civic Federation, its membership, however, being by or-

ganizations and without representation of the public. The occasion was a dinner at which were present more than two hundred representatives of wage-workers' and employers' interests, the Right Honorable Frederick Huth Jackson, P. C., presiding. From the acquaintanceship then formed the Commission was later enabled to gather considerable information with regard to various phases of its inquiry.

The Commission was also indebted to the Alliance for guidance and hospitality during visits to the great industrial centres of Swansea, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Dundee. In these places, in the course of conferences with municipal officials, who in each case welcomed the Americans at the city hall on their arrival, and of subsequent meetings with representatives of the various organizations of industry, men in immediate contact with live labor problems, the members of the Commission acquired a broadened general view of fact and sentiment relative to the subjects of its inquiry. On making it clear that non-partisan interpretations of facts were earnestly sought, the Commission was invariably gratified by the straightforward testimony proffered by the persons interrogated, whatever their industrial

status. The Commission's make-up of representatives of "the public, capital and labor," a phrase of common acceptance, appealed strongly to the British mind at the present juncture of the nation's circumstances. Consequently, a frankness of expression and a fine spirit of give and take were usually manifested in the groups conferred with, and by a majority a desire was displayed to help work out Great Britain's industrial questions in harmony.

In their activities, by rule, the members of the Commission sought every phase of opinion and every honest view of fact, turning everywhere to the most authoritative sources available, whether strongly conservative or ultra-radical.

The Commission's period of inquiry in Britain was timely, as the nation was then in the throes of industrial unrest. The immediate phases of the situation were the labor upheavals of the war, the unforeseen sudden termination of the fighting at the front, the release of millions of service men and women and munition and other workers on government supplies, and the extraordinary radical agitation among the wage-workers, particularly by the Socialists in connection with several of the most powerful trade unions in the basic

fields of employment. For several weeks there were possibilities that trunk-line communication and the supply of coal would suddenly be cut off. It is hardly too much to say that in the early months of 1919 Britain underwent a crisis in labor affairs rarely if ever equaled in the world's industrial history.

The accommodating statesmanship shown by leading government officials and the patriotic course of both sides in the labor conflict, facts with which American readers are familiar, finally averted the threatened national catastrophe. Before the Commission came away Parliament had set up additional machinery for aiding employment and avoiding work stoppages, a mixed national industrial council had held several sessions, the organization of joint councils was being pressed with renewed vigor, and voluntary intermediary societies were engaged in calling employers and employed to their duties of citizenship and offering them facilities for conference and conciliation.

During its stay in London the Commission was fortunate in adding to its collection of facts and impressions through attendance at public meetings and conferences of organizations, as well as through an unusually lively discussion of the stirring events of the day in the press.

Meetings were being held almost daily in the larger public halls by all manner of societies, where representatives of every shade of opinion advocated by turns emergency steps or the familiar social panaceas. A list of these organizations and of the names of the speakers at their meetings and of the writers of letters in the press would present mostly a recapitulation of the exhibits of British forces and figures in political or sociological controversy already known to American readers. The proceedings of the National Industrial Conference and the subsequent reports of its committees, the discussions of labor bills by Parliament continuously in session, and the daily hearings during a period of weeks of the Coal (Sankey) Commission also afforded the Commission unusual opportunities for observation and for obtaining impressions of current British opinion.

The Commission was influenced in the general pursuit of its labors through the advice and information of men at the heart of industrial affairs, usually occupying positions of authority in organizations or in the government. An endeavor to mention their names with justice to all concerned would be an embarrassing task, but the following are offered as an indi-

cation of the many-sided views entertained by the Commission's advisers, one point of advice, given generally in a spirit of tolerance, being to see people of all parties and all ranks of society in order to absorb the elements of a composite survey.

The members of the staff of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed who accompanied the Commission on its trips to the provincial cities and otherwise acted as its hosts were, Mr. A. H. Paterson, general secretary; Lieutenant General Sir Edward Bethune, K.C.B., chief organizer; Captain A. F. Wornum, his assistant; Mr. T. E. Jackson, labor organizer; and Mr. Harry Dubery, labor adviser.

Mr. W. A. Appleton, General Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, besides constantly assisting the Commission in various ways, gave it the use of an office in the Federation headquarters and leave to confer frequently with the staff, a privilege yielding helpful results.

Either in the course of extended interviews or by providing the members with needed documents, in cases to the extent of selected series descriptive of bureau work interesting to the Commission, these gentlemen are highly de-

serving of thanks: Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labor; Mr. Bertram Wilson of the Ministry and associates; Mr. S. J. Wardle, M. P., Parliamentary Secretary; the several officials of the Industrial League, especially the Right Honorable George H. Roberts, president, Mr. John Ames, secretary, and Mr. G. Lathan, Railway Clerks' Association, honorable secretary; Mr. E. J. Walkden, General Secretary Railway Clerks; Hon. James H. Thomas, M. P., General Secretary National Union of Railwaymen; Hon. James Seddon, M. P.; Mr. David Gilmour, Scottish Miners' Association; Mr. E. J. Naylor, London Society of Compositors; Sir Walter Kinnear, National Health Insurance Commission; Lord Leverhulme; Sidney Webb; Albert Taylor, Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party; the Hon. John W. Davis, United States Ambassador; Sir Robert Hadfield, of the Federation of British Industries; Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart., Founder International Cotton Federation; Sir Thomas Dewar, Bart.; Mr. Ivor Gwynne, General Secretary Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association; Mr. A. B. Gilroy, jute manufacturer, Dundee; Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, General Secretary Sailors and Firemen's Union; Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn, Chairman In-

dustrial Reconstruction Council; the Right Honorable Eugene Wason, who sat in Parliament from Scotland for more than twenty years; Major Waldorf Astor, M. P., the last named giving introductions through which valuable interviews were obtained in several government offices.

In Paris, Dr. E. J. Dillon, the British journalist; the Hon. François Monod, of the French High Commission; M. Fontaine, Director, Ministry of Labor; Mr. Herbert Hoover; officials of the Bourse du Travail; M. Robert S. Carmichael and Ferdinand Roy, President and Vice-President, respectively, of the Union Textile; M. Harmel, a textile manufacturer of Rheims; M. Auguste Keufer, General Secretary of the French National Typographical Union; officials of the General Confederation of Labor, and M. Etienne Martin St. Léon and other members of the Musée Social, materially assisted in responding to the Commission's inquiries.

Charles S. Barrett, a member of the Commission, and President of the National Farmers' Union, while in Paris conferred with both Premier Georges Clemenceau and Premier Lloyd George regarding international agricultural questions.

The arduous and at times tedious task of giving the Commission detailed information was obligingly performed as an international duty by many others, trade union officials as well as manufacturers and men of business circles generally.

No account of the trip would be complete without acknowledgment of the contribution made to its success by the Chairman, Mr. Charles Mayer, who, despite a serious illness of several weeks in March and heavy responsibilities as Counsel for the National Farmers' Union at the Peace Conference and adviser to the Polish government, in no instance failed to respond when needed. Through his large acquaintance in Europe he was able to get the Commission into touch with individuals and organizations important to its work.

Before entering upon consideration of the report proper, a brief account of the industrial situation in Great Britain and France, the former particularly, will be of assistance to the reader who is not familiar with the general situation in those countries.

The closed shop principle has practically ceased to be a matter of dispute in Great Britain between "capital and labor." Despite this fact, the average British employer, with a good

many notable exceptions, has operated his plant on the theory that low wages and long hours were the cornerstone upon which his industrial structure must depend for competing with the rest of the world in manufactured products. This is admitted pretty generally by British employers, but it is only fair to state that the manufacturers of that country as a class realize that such conditions will not and should not obtain in the future. In fact, nothing encountered on the other side was more impressive than the spirit of fair play and concession exhibited by British employers and their realization that the future holds nothing for any industrial country unless its production can be organized on a basis of absolute square dealing with labor. This fact, coupled with an equal spirit of fair play and concession on the part of the great majority of representative labor leaders of Great Britain, did more than anything else to convince the Commission that that country has an excellent chance of solving its admittedly difficult labor situation.

While organized labor in Great Britain lacks the homogeneity that American organized labor possesses to such a large extent, it can nevertheless be said that there is a widespread sentiment of unity when the interest of any branch

of labor is unjustly attacked. Organized labor may not function as efficiently as in America in times of conflict but there is no doubt as to its essential solidarity in all branches when fundamental rights of labor are threatened.

Reduced to its essence, Great Britain's industrial problem rests on production. Without increased production, she cannot survive as a great industrial nation. To secure production her employers must convince British labor that they will play the game, and labor on its part must abandon opposition to fair methods of efficiency. The entire industrial world will watch the developments in the solution of this problem with unaffected interest and with great sympathy.

The Commission found in France a less varied field of discussion of industrial problems than in Great Britain, the general tendency of the working masses being to expect relief through revolutionary politics rather than by trade union organization. In some of the great industries, such as the metal trades and mining, efforts were being made by employers to bring about with employees the relations of a mutual interest. As a considerable body of aggressive French unions are avowedly socialistic and openly declare they are work-

ing for the downfall of the capitalist system, it can be seen that the French employer faces a situation radically different from that in Britain or America.

While there are unions in France fairly like those in this country, the great majority are composed of men whose leaders, at least, are frankly revolutionists. It is not too much to say that many are heartily in sympathy with Bolshevism. France, however, largely an agricultural country, has the hardworking, landowning French peasant at the base in control. While he has little regard for the capitalist, he has even less for the syndicalist (the revolutionary labor leader) and it would seem that he presents a formidable barrier to the spread of Bolshevism westward.

The report proper of the Commission, which follows, is divided into three general parts:

Part One, contributed by Andrew Parker Nevin, deals with industrial conditions on the other side of the water as viewed by a representative of the American public.

Part Two gives the views of a representative of the American Federation of Labor, James W. Sullivan.

In Part Three Albert Farwell Bemis, a well-

known textile manufacturer, speaks for the American employer.

Mr. Nevin is a graduate of Princeton University and a member of the New York bar. He was for many years General Counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers. During the war he was a member of the Executive Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, of which Committee Mr. Samuel Gompers was Chairman. Mr. Nevin was particularly active in the work of the American Fund for French Wounded. He has long been an interested observer of industrial relations, and has delivered many addresses on economic topics. After completing his labors with the Commission on Industrial Inquiry, Mr. Nevin was placed in charge of the Belgrade office of the American Relief Administration, which took him to many of the most interesting points in Central Europe, including Trieste, Fiume, and Vienna. While in these places, Mr. Nevin was able to make observations of labor conditions, and gained accurate information as to the workings of the Soviet government in Hungary under Bela Kun.

Few men are better known in the labor world on both sides of the Atlantic than James W. Sullivan. For more than a quarter of a cen-

tury, as editor, translator and delegate, he has been in active touch with the labor organizations and leaders of Great Britain and the Continent. In 1896 he was the fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh. In 1909 he attended several international congresses in Europe in company with Mr. Gompers. From 1909 to 1912 he was engaged in editorial work for the American Federation of Labor at Washington in close association with President Gompers. In 1916 Mr. Sullivan was named as a special delegate to the European trade unions by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to arrange for a conference at the end of the war. Later he was assistant to Mr. Gompers on the Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, and, concurrently, head of the Division of Labor and Consumers' Interests, U. S. Food Administration. Mr. Sullivan's membership on the Commission making this report was by nomination of Mr. Gompers.

Albert Farwell Bemis has been engaged in industrial pursuits since his graduation from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1893. His home is in Boston. He is president of the Bemis Bro. Bag Company of Boston and

of the Housing Company—a corporation organized a year or two ago to serve as architects, engineers and contractors in the field of community and industrial housing. Mr. Bemis was for two years president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and is now Treasurer of the National Council of American Cotton Manufacturers and a member of the National Industrial Conference Board. During the war, he was a member of the Committees on Labor and Cotton Goods Buying and Production of the Council of National Defense and later of the War Service Committee, representing the cotton manufacturing industry.

In so far as possible its work was done by the Commission in a body, and it is a satisfaction to make public statement of the fact that from first to last there was manifest a spirit that made for effective team work. Representative of organized wage-workers, organized employers and the American public, the Commission presented a basis of organization seldom seen in countries other than the United States, save in the case of an occasional government commission. The idea, however, was commented on favorably wherever the Commission went. In Great Britain this form of organization has already taken hold, while in

France the sympathetic inquiry made leads to the hope that in the near future she may be added to the list of countries which are endeavoring to achieve justice in the industrial world through bringing into close contact the three principal factors concerned in production.

PART ONE.

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE PUBLIC VIEWPOINT.

ANDREW PARKER NEVIN.

I.

Public Opinion and Labor.

The plan of procedure adopted by The National Civic Federation for its Commission on Industrial Inquiry contemplated among other objects a survey of labor conditions in Great Britain, (a) from the standpoint of employer; (b) of worker; and (c) the public. The purpose of this portion of the Commission's survey, therefore, is an attempt to portray some of the larger phases of the present labor problems of Great Britain through the eyes of those elements of society which we may broadly classify as the public. In one sense, obviously, every man, woman and child in any community or country is affected by and is a part of the industrial and labor fabric. The employing and employed groups are essential elements of the general public; but, for purposes of arrangement and treatment, this part of our report is a survey of and toward the problems of industrial relations strictly from the viewpoint of the public.

No observer of modern industrial development will deny that the public is becoming, inevitably and progressively, a larger integral factor in the complicated labor equation of the day. Nor can it be questioned that employers and workers appreciate this significant fact. Both groups naturally and eagerly seek to enlist the forces of public opinion in support of their respective measures, policies or issues in the warranted hope that such support will effectively sustain them in positions taken or claims asserted. So that from a civic and moral standpoint, the interest of the public is vitally associated with the vast and complicated problems in which the employing and employed groups are at present so deeply interested. The fact of established publicity bureaus, press agencies, publications, magazines and other media of propaganda conclusively proves that the moral support of the public is becoming more and more a dominating and essential element in the realm of industry. Nor is the public passive as it was two decades ago. Each year it evinces a more active participation, concern and penetration in the issues arising out of current industrial programs, aims and methods, and a greater determination to become closely associated in the work

of bettering industrial conditions generally. In any large problem affecting a considerable number of people in any given community, the opinion of that community will, in the final analysis, become the forum for the adjustment of the troubles in which it is interested. This exertion and expansion of public pressure, therefore, is perhaps the most significant fact in the development of modern industry.

The public has also a very direct interest in most controversies between employers and wage-workers because a large majority of the people as a whole is concerned with the cost of the commodities which the public consumes. While there is evidence that the public is taking an increased interest in such controversies, a greater increase of the best thought of the more progressive nations could be given to the formulation of plans whereby the interests of the consumer could be more adequately safeguarded in the strife that seems inevitably to arise between capital and labor. This is particularly true of the salaried and wage-earning classes whose income is more or less fixed and who, particularly since the outbreak of the war, have been called upon to pay a constantly increasing price for the necessaries of life. For, while it is an economic truth that wages and

prices tend to find a common level, the remonstrance of labor that it is always asked first to "come down" is not without force. Labor admits the "vicious circle," but insists that a fall of price levels should precede a fall in wage scale. If the market prices of general commodities are to be reduced, it can only be realized by an abundance of products and goods turned out. If the force and power of public opinion could be centralized on this basic industrial and economic fact, the tension of the present high cost of living would be gradually but surely lessened.

II.

Our sojourn in Great Britain, with the opportunities and courtesies most cordially extended to us by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed and other representative organizations and individuals, afforded an excellent opportunity of appraising the forces of public opinion and their effectiveness in the spheres of British industry. Comparisons can be made between public opinion in Great Britain and America, but should be carefully limited by the differences existing between the two countries. Great Britain, racially a unit and

very small in comparison with the United States, sustains a feeling of close association in her industrial life. Most of the industrial centres in England can be reached by a few hours' travel, and therefore most of the employers know each other either by name, locality or craft. There is thus much greater cohesion and unity than there is in the United States. In America we have a sense of wide expansion and, from the very magnitude of our country, we are frequently so far removed that close intercourse is somewhat difficult and sectional feelings and sentiments naturally arise. Our racial diversity needs no comment. The arena of British industry being small and concentrated, public opinion can shed its light on a given problem or locality with almost the pencilled illumination of a searchlight. It is the opinion of the writer that public opinion in Great Britain in its attitude toward the labor problem is more active, responsive and alert than in the United States. But against this observation may be advanced the friendly criticism that the methods, plans and procedure adopted by the public are more complicated and less effective than corresponding agencies in the United States.

While the British sense of organization is

highly developed, the organizations themselves, in their actual operation, are not especially efficient. The report of my associate, Mr. James W. Sullivan, emphasizes the complicated character of labor organizations in England, and points out how they overlap and interpenetrate, with resulting bewilderment on the part of the workers as to what particular group they are in, and how the various groups with which the workers are associated co-ordinate and function. Instead of opposing organization of employers or employed in Great Britain, the established practice has been to encourage the extension of networks of organizations. Hence to the visiting observer it is almost impossible to segregate by clear lines one group from another. British trade unionism is a vast mosaic of horizontal, vertical and criscross lines in which it is extremely difficult to chart out even the broader lines of the various and numerous groupings or their respective objects and purposes.

Our visit to Great Britain was coincident with grave industrial crises. The insistent demands by the coal workers for public hearings to ventilate the merits of their grievances resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of wages,

hours and conditions of labor of the workers in that industry. Following the end of the war new adjustments were also demanded by the transport workers who threatened a general strike which, if executed, would have paralyzed all means of communication in the United Kingdom. These serious economic, social and political issues were forced upon the attention of the British public with heavy pressure and grave import. If a universal strike of the transport systems and a shutting down of the collieries had both taken place, the results would have been tragic. During those weeks of suspense, therefore (that is, during the month of March), the newspapers, magazines and the public forums were almost exclusively devoted to the circumstances of the impending crises. Very wisely, Parliament, reflecting Great Britain's public opinion, authorized the Commission above referred to, to investigate publicly conditions in the collieries and report its findings and conclusions. This procedure released, somewhat, the high tension and gave both operators and workmen an opportunity fairly and publicly to present their sides of the complex question involving England's basic industry. The evidence presented at the hearings before the Commission was published *in*

extenso in all the leading London and provincial journals; practically no important part of any of the testimony was excluded from the press. The testimony was eagerly read and discussed by the public generally. Comment was heard on all sides, although no attempt could be made by a visitor to master the details of the conflicting, voluminous and intricate testimony presented. Public opinion was seriously aroused, and certain broad questions emerged from the mass of testimony about which the people collectively were so vitally concerned. From numberless editorials in the newspapers, from contributed articles and from the general tone of comment, certain general conclusions were reached by the public. In the first place, it was felt that the primary needs of the *community,* i. e., the necessity for fuel for England's industrial production, were paramount to any issue or issues existing between the coal owners and their workers. The public regarded coal as a national, basic necessity, and its production, distribution and use absolutely essential to the health of the people and to the maintenance of England's manufacture and operating wealth. It displayed scant patience with attempts made by both sides of the inquiry to bolster up any particular claim.

It was evident that some plan would have to be worked out whereby the coal mines could be kept in continuous operation; otherwise British manufacture and trade, both domestic and foreign, would halt, and an economic catastrophe would follow. The British public felt instinctively that the managers of many of the coal mines had failed to keep abreast with modern methods and requirements of housing, sanitation, hygiene and other standards of living. Nor was the public especially interested in attempts to explain failures on the part of the managers. It reached its conclusions from a natural sense of justice and not as a result of financial investigation, statistical proof or volatile sympathy. The public felt also that because of the inherent hazardous character of the employment of the mine workers an advance in the wage scale was justified. The rate of advance, however, was debatable, and men with a broad outlook on English industry as a whole saw clearly that a schedule of coal prices carried beyond a given commercial point, while immediately beneficial to the workers themselves, would have a serious economic effect upon British industrial production and manufacture, particularly in competition with other countries and thus, ultimately, upon the mine

workers themselves. So complicated was this important phase that opinion was naturally and sharply divided. There was no division of opinion, however, about the necessity of prompt recommendation and governmental action or enforcible legislation which would remove the possibility and menace of a complete shutdown of coal.

The report and findings of the Commission were awaited with keen anxiety by the public. Mr. Justice John Sankey, of the King's Bench, High Court of Justice, had been selected as Chairman of the Coal Commission. Justice Sankey, an appointee of Mr. Lloyd George, had spent most of his life in Wales, and his personal knowledge of conditions surrounding the coal mines was generally admitted. The report was filed within the time prescribed. It was a document remarkable for brevity, clarity and decisiveness. It arraigned severely the system under which coal was produced in Great Britain, and practically ignored all attempted excuses on the part of the managers to justify deplorable living and housing conditions which had so long prevailed. The report recommended a small increase in the price per ton of coal, a shortening of the schedule of hours of labor, an increase in wages, and approved

other recommendations for the compulsory betterment of living conditions under which the miners worked in the coal districts of England and Wales. The report further recommended that some substitute must be found for the existing system—either nationalization, or a method of unification by national purchase or "joint control."

Our Commission paid particular attention to a study of how the report of the Sankey Commission was received by the British public. We believe the general findings and conclusions of the Commission were in accord with the attitude of the public. This statement is not inconsistent with speculation or doubt as to how some of the measures recommended could be carried into practical effect; nor was it doubted that the economic and financial ramifications of the new regulations would tax the ingenuity of British banker and coal manager. But, taken as a whole, the report of the Sankey Commission reflected the approval of English composite public opinion. As a fair sample of the public's estimate of the Sankey Report, the following comment from "Unity," a British organ published for the advancement of industrial and social progress through har-

monious action by capital and labor, may be submitted:

> "Unity, compromise, reasoned and orderly progress, national development by definite stages that maintain an ordered civilization, but that steadily sweeps away the gross inequalities that are the outcome of centuries of complicated industrial developments and inherited difficulties, are the imperative national need. Seeing that the chairman's report endeavours to approximate toward this ideal, it is in entire keeping with immediate needs, and seeing that the minority reports, on the one hand from certain employers, and on the other hand of the labour members of the Commission depart from this desire, they will be up against the spirit of the times and appear to definitely perpetuate the industrial antagonisms that so many people hoped were to be gradually supplanted by common sense and reasoned argument."

It was merely a report, and had no enforcibility without legislative action; but that Parliament would ratify the findings and recommendations in their essential entirety was disputed by no one.

Apart from the merits of the coal controversy, the point requiring special emphasis was the fact that public opinion had fundamentally determined that this serious national menace to British industry should be ended. We may well ponder the significance of this atti-

tude. It proves what we said in the early part of this report, that there is a point at which the public is not only interested but will enforce its equities in the settlement of industrial controversies where those controversies affect the interests of the people. The public mind, of course, cannot—should not—be concerned with details; but once a clear issue is fairly presented, its decision usually is in accord with broad justice and compelling reason. It is difficult for the parties to a controversy to get the viewpoint of the outsider. In a court of justice lawyers for contending parties naturally seek to prevail, and carry conviction before court and jury in the best interests of their clients. There is a certain analogy between industrial controversy and a judicial proceeding. The contestants come into court convinced of the justice and fairness of their respective claims and present them before the jury for determination and verdict. It is not easy for contending counsel to interpret the impression made on the jury by the logic of their argument or the quality of the evidence. Self-interest predetermines the motives of the contending parties. The jury, under instructions of the court, is charged with the responsibility of rendering a verdict in accordance with the evidence

submitted. By suggestive analogy, the public represents the jury in industrial struggles. Neither side to any industrial controversy has the right to seek the approval of the public without openly submitting its claims for examination and scrutiny. No strike can prevail against an aroused and opposing public opinion, and no strike ever will prevail. No action by employers can enlist the support of the public unless the merit and righteousness of the employers' claims are clearly and honestly presented. Evasion and suppression is evidence of a weak or faulty or deceptive cause.

The threatened transport strike, while not settled through Parliamentary committee, was really adjusted because of the effect it would have had on the British public if a paralysis of the Nation's entire transportation systems had occurred. The activity in handling the delicate issues by Mr. J. H. Thomas, General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen, deserves notice and comment. He well knew the consequences of a tie-up of the transport systems of the country. He saw the suffering which would ensue and the enormous economic, financial and industrial loss which would be entailed. Mindful, therefore, of these serious consequences and the mood of the people as a

whole, he became necessarily not only a representative of the wage-workers in the transport system, but he was forced, by the very exigencies of the crisis, to become more or less a representative of the British public. The strike was averted by mutual concessions, although the fundamental questions of government ownership (not only with reference to the railroads but also with reference to the coal industry) remain unsettled, and are certain to become the subject of later Parliamentary inquiry. We do not go into the question of the nationalization of the British coal industry, because this vast problem was not within the scope of the first Sankey Commission. Merely are we concerned in portraying the attitude of the British public toward these national menaces and its insistence upon a solution. It was public opinion as ultimate arbiter and as a dynamic force to be reckoned with in the future changes of British industry.

It must be borne in mind, as a prerequisite of any intelligent survey of British socio-industrial conditions, that Great Britain is essentially conservative. Action is not quick, precipitate or hasty. The average Briton is slow and reluctant to adopt new methods, new principles, or new procedures. There is a fair simi-

larity in the growth of British industrialism and English common law—upon which our own legal institutions are historically and directly founded. Both systems represent slow and gradual development, both are expressions of the Anglo-Saxon mind, and have their respective values, limitations and defects. The slow process of change in Great Britain, therefore, sometimes mystifies the outsider, but it has steadying and wholesome effects. It checks those wild and radical elements in industrial society which seek to bring about basic changes without even an inquiry into the effects of such changes on the community as a whole. We may feel inclined to criticize some of the cumbersome methods and occasional awkward procedure used by Great Britain in the handling of her many complicated economic and social problems. Yet, in these days when violent doctrines are threatening civilized countries; when Central Europe is clouded and stricken with destructive principles of uncharted radicalism; when the framework of centuries of industrial development is torn down by the wild hands of misguided proletarianism, we can turn to Great Britain with intelligent approval and learn valuable lessons in resisting subversive doctrines and destructive reactions.

III.

The query may be submitted as to how public opinion in Great Britain is defined, of what it is composed. It is axiomatic that opinion, public or private, is measured in effectiveness by the mode and forms by which it is expressed and enforced. We were interested, therefore, in seeing through what channels and agencies British public opinion releases itself. For purposes of loose classification it may be said that public opinion (exclusive of employers and employed) is exerted through the following broad grouping: (a) Political organization (that is, party groups). (b) The Government, through the Houses of Parliament and the Ministry. (c) Miscellaneous civic, religious, educational and reform societies. (d) The press.

When these and other groupings address themselves to an analysis of and participation in British trade and labor problems, it may be assumed that any considerable unity of action might be called the expressed opinion of the citizenship of Great Britain. If this supposition is correct, we may indicate certain generalizations arising through these agencies in their especial application to the problem of British

industrial relations. The Labor Party, of which Mr. Arthur Henderson is leader, candidly seeks political and legislative action as the most effective means of translating labor demands into terms of enforcible reform. It holds that the aspirations of labor cannot be put into effect without political action. But the British Labor Party does not represent all the wage earners or workers of Great Britain; it reflects merely a part, the actual numerical strength of which is debatable. The majority of British workmen is not convinced that the political program and industrial reforms advocated by Mr. Henderson and his party are the wisest for them to adopt. The wage earners believe that their aims and desires can be fully accomplished by action other than through strictly political agencies. The present coalition government, criticized at times for its hesitating neutrality, commended at times for its practical expediency, reflects a tendency to permit the employers and employed to work out their own industrial salvation with or without legislation. The radical group of Socialists, represented by Mr. Snowden, Mr. McDonald, Mr. Webb and others in their respective schools of political phantasy, are regarded suspiciously by the average British worker, and unitedly

opposed by British employers. This group makes up in vocalism and literary output what it lacks in numerical strength. It stands for an actual or quasi-Socialism, but has substituted the idea of nationalization for the idea of state ownership of the means of productive industry. It is not strictly Marxian, although a derivative from the Marxian school of Socialism. The measured strength of any radical movement in matters social, industrial or political can never be determined in advance. It can only be measured by what it has actually accomplished, not by what it claims to have done. The mere fact that a change takes place in any existing system does not mean that the change is necessarily radical. Those, therefore, who contend for changes in industry are not to be regarded as radical unless the change itself is inherently radical in plan and purpose. The radical group in Great Britain makes no denial that its objectives are radical; for it bases its claims upon systems fundamentally different from those which have heretofore obtained.

The basic principle of the school of radical thought in Great Britain is that the present industrial conditions justify and demand changes in scheme, purpose and method. The capitalistic system, in their reasoning, is so

faulty that new arrangements are necessary—arrangements wherein the worker is protected, socially and economically, against oppression which they claim is inherently associated with the existing systems. They contend also that modern industrial society owes its allegiance primarily and organically to the common welfare, from which it derives its source, and that this welfare is the state. The state being supreme, should exercise that supremacy over the conditions under which men and women work and production is turned out. They go further. They say that the working classes should be responsible to the state through the idea of service, and they use the experiences of the war in support of their proposal. If men fight, as soldiers, for their country, why should men not also work for their country with exactly or similar motives of service and devotion? Their plan, in principle, is for a nationalized sense of service. Of course, this may be generally accepted and designated as Socialism; but we are not so sure that some of the radical wing in British industry would admit that it was Socialism at all—at least in the Marxian sense. But whatever it is, or whatever it is called, it is an attempt to socialize industry upon an entirely different and radi-

cally new basis. Their claims are fortified whenever they are enabled to point out defects in the so-called capitalistic system. This line of attack is one of the strongest and at the same time weakest arguments of the entire radical group. They do not attempt to remedy defects in the existing systems, but they artfully appropriate those defects in naïve support of their own system. Their plan of procedure carries with it a certain, or rather an uncertain, degree of attractive plausibility, and their followers therefore content themselves by stressing the shortcomings and weaknesses in the existing system, as a lure to attract others to their ranks as neo-industrialists. How strong, numerically, the following of these socialistic teachings in Great Britain was, we had scant means of determining. But we venture the opinion that the radical group in England is relatively much stronger than in the United States. We go so far as to intimate that greater intellectual vigor is also found in the English radical movement than in the similar movement in America.

Industry must exist within certain definite classifications: either it must be the result of private enterprise with private capital employed and with labor an integral factor; or,

it must be communized which means that the two main factors are the State and the workmen—the State furnishing capital, paying wages and appropriating profits if any are made over the cost of service; or, industry must be proletarianized, which would abolish capitalism, eliminate employers, private or state, and combine all labor, manual or brain, in each industry into one large collective unit. If an industry should become thus proletarian in its structure, it would necessarily become either guildism or syndicalism. If industry is to merge into the guild system, there will be no imaginative enterprise, capitalistic initiative nor the taking of commercial risks. Instead of the guild being subject to the community, the community will be subject to the dictates of the guild. If industry should become a product of syndicalism, capitalism as well as the State will disappear, and there will be one group dominating the entire community, nation and government. It does not seem possible to escape the classification of industry into one of these groups.*

Socialists, on the other hand, repudiating communism and proletarianism, seek to substitute State control of means and agencies of

* See article in London "Times," March 30, 1919, by Sir Lynden Macassey.

production. Their claim is far more plausible to the plastic mind than the extreme forms of organization to which allusion has been made. The obvious weakness in the claims of the radical group is the absence of coherent and practical plans for execution. The well-known characteristic of British nature to avoid novelties and to cling to established custom and habit wholly precludes the probability of employers or employees adopting Socialism, as we ordinarily use that term. Socialism, as we saw it manifested in England, is vague, uncertain and devoid of precise analysis. It is an economically intellectualized protest rather than a constructive workable formula, but the danger of its enlargement permeates the entire industrial and social order.

II.

Labor Grouping and Plans of Reconstruction.

At this juncture in our analysis, an important observation must be made in justice to the entire impartiality with which we hope our survey is submitted. We met employers who were wholly hostile to Socialism but who expressed a wholesome willingness and desire to adopt advanced ideas toward socializing their plants and business. They were men, enlightened and progressive, and they saw clearly and sympathetically the pressing need of serious reform in British industry. They were entirely at variance with the radical element; but they were willing to go very far toward evolving concurrent ways and means to stabilize and mutualize their relations with their workers. We were deeply impressed by the advanced ideas and attitudes of these particular employers and we saw that in their progressive willingness to enrich industry with forward-looking plans of action dealing with their employees lay the hope of real industrial strength

and harmony. We merely allude to this type of British employers by contrast with the Socialistic group, and to emphasize strongly the fact that methods for socializing industry upon sound, enlightened and humane principles can proceed and will proceed without reliance on or connection with the theories of a state control of industry or sinister hints of sudden revolution.

A larger phase of the socio-radical element in Great Britain relates to the international character of the movement. We would be exceeding the limits of our prescribed survey if we attempted to discuss, at any length, the Socialistic movement in its international aspects. Any considerable observation on Socialistic tendencies, as a world movement, would involve the whole scheme of international economics and politics, which is clearly outside the designated scope of our inquiry. But we cannot omit merely alluding to the manifest and growing affinity between the Socialistic group in England and other European countries and the radical world tendencies involved in this portentous current of economic thought.

II.

In 1917 Mr. Lloyd George caused the appointment of a commission of Parliament (Mr. J. H. Whitley, M. P., Chairman), which was asked to formulate and submit plans of industrial cooperation, for consideration not only during the last phases of the war, but for the reconstruction period inevitably following the end of the war. Mr. Whitley's Commission presented a proposal which was officially approved by the British Government and which is today the subject of generally favorable comment by all groups in British industry. This action by the government illustrates the fact that the British Ministry of Labor and the cabinet intended to exert active and constructive influences on the industrial problems with which Great Britain was confronted.

Volumes have been written about the Whitley Commission's recommendations. We will not burden this section of our survey with an extended analysis or explanation of the commission's findings, because their official report is accessible in any library in full and complete form. The basic conception of the Whitley report is that each industry is a unit. It maintains that an industry is not a collection of

individual firms each of which has no connection with any other except as a competitor with all the others. Industrial concerns, manufacturing or trade, in the same commodity or group of commodities are to be regarded as simply or even mainly competing for the supply of the same or adjoining markets. A trade is larger than the mere sum of the units that compose it. It has its own problems, its own internal questions of organization and methods of procedure and production, its own special source of raw material, its own peculiar difficulties regarding access to markets, home or foreign, its own attitude on the one hand to the employer and on the other to the wage-worker. Again, each trade stands in a well-defined relationship to the state, to the consuming public and to the transportation and financial systems on which in the modern industrial world all trades and businesses depend in the last resort. To indicate the main purpose of the Whitley policy, the following recent statement of Mr. Whitley will, we believe, be appropriate:

> "If the country is to face the future with any chance of success, it can only be on condition that everyone contributes of his best, according to his ability. This means, of course, that opportunities hitherto closed or

restricted should be freely open to capacity wherever it is to be found. True democracy means a widening of the field from which leaders are selected until it includes the whole population. The importance of more organisation and science in industry has long been recognised. The time has come to give at least an equal place to the human factor. An industrial council must deal with all questions concerning the conditions of life of the workers. It should aim at providing for its industry the minimum conditions of labor which will give the opportunity of a decent human life for every person engaged in the industry, and also provide the means whereby each individual can make his or her maximum contribution to the industry, looked upon as a service to the state. Employers will be able to lay their difficulties before those who are best able to help them, and to hear at first hand of the troubles of those who are working with them. Unless the co-operation of employers and employed is secured there can be no prosperity for the country. If we are to do our share in the League of Nations we must have our industries properly organised. I do not believe that we shall fail. I have a profound belief in the Briton, whatever his calling may be. Except for a small minority he is not going to follow impossible counsels if he sees some positive alternative. I am confident that when the councils are thoroughly understood by the workers, the scheme, with all its great possibilities of industrial amity and advance, will be readily adopted."

Whether or not this lofty and patriotic conception will work out in general practical fact

depends upon the test of experience. The main point is that it presents a new idea of industrial organization, vertical instead of horizontal. It recommends a method by which industry as a unit may become operative through joint works committees in each industry through regional joint committees comprising an area in which a number of concerns of the same character are located, and a national joint standing committee through which the larger problems of the particular industry may be discussed, weighed, determined and executed.

Both employers and employees accepted the suggestions of the Whitley Report as to purpose and method with a fair degree of amiable approval. It was not intended to be a substitute for any established industrial organization of either employers or employed. It did not contemplate the exclusion or limitation of trade unionism, nor did it in any way intimate any restriction of employers to organize. It merely took already existing industrial organizations and suggested a plan by which they might cooperate to the best interests not only of the workers and employed, but also for the benefit of the reconstruction of British industries—with what degree of permanent success cannot at this time be stated accurately. The

writer believes that the Whitley plan is an important and helpful factor in the re-establishment of British industrial production and will gradually gain adoption in the course of time. It may not have all the merits which its advocates claim, but it is at least an attempt to offer a structure or guide for simplifying the tangled mass of British industrial organizations.

At this point in our discussion allusion to a most important phase in British industrial reconstruction is imperative. In March, 1915, the famous "Treasury Agreement" between the British Government and British trade unionism was made. The purpose of the agreement was to remove the complicated trade restrictions covering production in order to increase the output of munitions of war. The first nine months of the war had shown that England's munition production was dangerously handicapped by the enforced network of union restrictions. The agreement provided, however, that upon the termination of the war, the same restrictions would be re-established. As a result of the agreement of suspension, production increased incredibly, wages were advanced to an unprecedented point and the observer of British industry soon saw that it would be impossible when the war ceased to go

back to and re-enact the previous trade union restrictions. This prophecy was justified. English labor had long been under the erroneous impression that limitation of production meant the maintenance of a high wage scale. So obsessed with this idea were the British workmen that methods of "ca'canny," loitering and slow-work became common practice, under the capricious illusion that such obstruction was beneficial and necessary to their wage income. War production wholly disproved this idea, and the reconstruction period after the war pressed for a new conception of the economic benefit of increased production. No fact in British industry has been more universally emphasized than the imperative need of increased production, to sustain existing wages, to develop domestic manufacture, and to permit Great Britain its share in world trade. The Whitley plan, the press, public opinion and the government urge this fact, and even trade unions have come out of their mesmerized trance to a realizing sense of the importance of expanding and increasing production.

The writer and his colleagues conferred, among others, with Lord Leverhulme, head of the vast "Sunlight Soap" industry, and also with Arthur Henderson. These gentlemen rep-

resent different, and opposing, positions in British industrial thought; but both could not dwell with sufficient emphasis upon the absolute necessity of an enlarged and expanding production. Lord Leverhulme had recently advocated a six-hour day in a vigorous speech in the House of Lords which considerably agitated many of his venerable and honorable associates. He told the Commission, when it waited on him, that it was quite immaterial to him what the weekly schedule of hours was if a requisite production was turned out. Mr. Henderson, from an entirely different angle, stated that increased production for the needs of the community was paramount to any question arising between employers and employees; and his statement contained the veiled threat that unless production were maintained in response to the normal needs of the nation, the whole system of British employment would be attacked by labor and a comprehensive plan of nationalized control would follow.

The famous conference called by Mr. Lloyd George on February 28, 1919, of employers and employees to work out a common basis of industrial cooperation was dominated with the same idea of increased production. In his address Lloyd George frankly told the British

workmen that their welfare depended upon production, saying:

> "I say to the workers that what is happening in Russia and what may happen in Germany shows that, while the anarchist sections may appear for the moment to be triumphant, inconceivable horrors are being suffered in those countries. A small section may be doing well, the vast multitude of the working classes are suffering unimaginable distress. Therefore, what is needed is a prosperous community, where prosperity is assured for all. The future prosperity of this country depends upon increased productivity. You have got to do that. Let the workers understand that where there is an increase of production they will get their share of it."

He told the employers that they must adjust their whole scheme of management to increase production, and he indicated strongly that the public would insist upon expanded production.

> "I say to the employers that they might get voluntary advantages which would in the end ruin them. They must look to the long run. If they will, the whole fabric will be secure. They must see that the foundations are secure; if they are not, they have got to be uprooted."

The conference of employers and employed to which we have just alluded reported its recommendations during our visit in London.

As an indication of their respective attitudes in attempting to work out certain acceptable principles of industrial co-operation, their conclusions are important and are here set forth in digested form:

"The committee state that the questions to which they have given special attention are:

(a) Maximum hours.

(b) Minimum wages.

(c) Methods of dealing with war advances.

(d) Recognition of and negotiations between organizations of employers and work-people.

(e) Unemployment.

(f) The institution of a National Industrial Council.

UNANIMOUS RECOMMENDATIONS

On all these subjects the Committee submit important recommendations, which may be summarized as follows:

HOURS

(a) The establishment by legal enactment of the principle of a maximum normal working week of forty-eight hours, subject to—

(b) Provision for varying the normal hours in proper cases with adequate safeguards.

(c) Hours agreements between employers and trade unions to be capable of application to the trade concerned.

(d) Systematic overtime to be discouraged, and unavoidable overtime to be paid for at special rates.

WAGES

(a) The establishment by legal enactment of minimum time-rates of wages, to be of universal applicability.

(b) A commission to report within three months as to what these minimum rates should be.

(c) Extension of the establishment of trade boards for less organized trades.

(d) Minimum time-rates agreements between employers and trade unions to be capable of application to all employers engaged in the trade falling within the scope of the agreement.

(e) Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, to continue for a further period of six months from May 21, 1919.

(f) Trade conferences to be held to consider how war advances and bonuses should be dealt with, and in particular whether they should be added to the time-rates or piece-work prices, or should be treated separately as advances given on account of the conditions due to the war.

RECOGNITION AND NEGOTIATION

(a) Basis of negotiation between employers and work-people should be full and frank acceptance of employers' organizations and trade unions as the recognized organizations to speak and act on behalf of their members.

(b) Members should accept the jurisdiction of their respective organizations.

(c) Employers' organizations and trade unions should enter into negotiations for the establishment of machinery, or the revision of existing machinery for the avoidance of disputes, with provision for a representative method of negotiation in questions in which the same class of employers or work-people are represented by more than one organization respectively, and for the protection of employers' interests where members of trade unions of work-people are engaged in positions of trust or confidentiality, provided the right of such employees to join or remain members of any trade union is not thereby affected.

PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(a) Organized short time has considerable value in periods of depression. The joint representative bodies in each trade afford convenient machinery for controlling and regulating short time.

(b) Government orders should be regulated with a view to stabilizing employment.

(c) Government housing schemes should be pressed forward without delay.

(d) Demand for labor could be increased by state development of new industries.

MAINTENANCE OF UNEMPLOYED

(e) Normal provision for maintenance during unemployment should be more adequate and of wider

application, and should be extended to under-employment.

(f) Unemployed persons, and particularly young persons, should have free opportunities of continuing their education.

(g) The employment of married women and widows who have young children should be subject of a special inquiry.

(h) The age at which a child should enter employment should be raised beyond the present limit.

(i) Sickness and infirmity benefits and old-age pensions require immediate investigation with a view to more generous provisions being made.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

(a) A permanent National Industrial Council should be established to consider and advise the Government on national industrial questions.

(b) It should consist of 400 members, 200 elected by employers' organizations and 200 by trade unions.

(c) The Minister of Labour should be president of the council.

(d) There should be a standing committee of the council numbering 50 members, and consisting of 25 members elected by and from the employers' representatives and 25 by and from the trade union representatives on the council.

The old idea of limitation of production by British workmen by methods wholly uneconomic is therefore being abandoned, and there

is being substituted a better and quickened understanding of the necessity of enlarged productivity. The effect of this change on trade unionism is a matter of interesting comment. Trade unionism clearly recognizes and openly advocates the economic effect of increased production, and we observed no organized insistence to reinstate the pre-war restrictions on output. No more important phase of the British industrial-labor situation from an economic standpoint appeared in our survey than this changed attitude toward enlarged productivity.

The Whitley Report and the development of its principles, the calling together of employers and employed by the government to formulate new planes of action, the government's keen interest in ways and means for the development of new thought in British industry, all illustrate the public's concern and attitude toward the troubled labor situation. Nor is evidence of a desire of co-operation between employers and employees lacking. On the contrary, broad-minded representatives of trade unionism whom we met were singularly anxious to establish cordial planes of co-operative action between employers and employed. A new consciousness of the necessity of identity of interest was shown by this desire. Both

employers and employees, believing in the system under which they worked, saw clearly that the doctrines advanced by the radical school, if carried to partial or actual completion, would turn British industry into a melting pot of changing and doubtful confusion. Trade unionism, therefore, is violently opposed to the extreme radicalism, Socialism and quasi-Socialism of the school of Snowden, McDonald and Webb. We saw no concrete evidence of Bolshevism in the general meaning of that word, nor evidence sufficient to justify the apprehension that the doctrines of Lenine will find lodgment in the mass of British workmen.

III.

But aside from the strictly labor and political groups, other agencies and organizations which we classified as part of British public opinion are studying industrial evolution in Great Britain. The moral or ethical aspect of the status of the British workman is receiving careful attention. The formalistic and legalistic doctrine of the relationship of "master and servant" in industry is undergoing well-deserved fundamental change. There is a growing demand that the status of labor be

stated in terms of a new *morale* of industry. Evidence of this insistence is shown in recent reports made by committees representing various organizations, but all agreeing substantially in the conclusions reached as to the worker himself. To show something of this interest on the part of what might be called the religious or moral forces of public opinion, which really controls ultimately, we give the following extract from a report of a committee appointed by the archbishops of the Church of England to make a broad survey of the new spirit in industry:

> " . . . We think that the common description of workers as 'hands' summarizes aptly an aspect of their economic position which is not the less degrading because it has hitherto met with too general acquiescence. The suggestion is that the worker is an accessory to industry, rather than a partner in it; that his physical strength and manual dexterity are required to perform its operations, but that he has neither a mind which requires to be consulted as to its policy nor a personality which demands consideration; that he is a hired servant whose duty ends with implicit obedience, not a citizen of industry whose virtue is in initiative and intelligence."

In 1918, the Society of Friends, an influential and large religious group in Great Britain,

issued a report entitled "Quakerism in Industry." As illustrating the moral element in public opinion toward industry, an extract from this report would not be irrelevant. The report states in part:

> "The worker asks today for more than an improvement in his economic position. He claims from employers and managers the clear recognition of his rights as a person. The justice of this claim our religion compels us to admit. We cannot regard human beings as if they were merely so many units of brain power, so many of nervous or muscular energy. We must co-operate with them, and treat them as we ourselves should wish to be treated. This position involves the surrender by capital of its supposed right to dictate to labor the conditions under which work shall be carried on."

Again, the Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction on Adult Education has issued a report along lines similar to the two reports above mentioned, from which an extract of appropriate import is selected:

> "We do not think, however, that there is of necessity a fundamental antagonism between ethics and economics. Adequate pay, reasonable hours of labor, the supersession of heavy, degrading, and monotonous forms of manual labor by machinery and improved processes, the provision of holidays, the introduction

> of human relations and of the social motive into industry, healthy homes and a cheerful environment—these are the indispensable conditions of economic efficiency; they are also among the elementary rights to which the citizen, as such, and in virtue of his responsibilities, is entitled."

These excerpts from the reports of different groups of men and women are evidence of the interest of the public in a betterment of industrial conditions in Great Britain, and show, we believe, a determination that every vestige of industrial medievalism shall be eradicated from the British systems. Not to refer to these view-points on the labor problem would be to exclude what, in the writer's opinion, is a most important aspect of the entire question. No longer can either employer or employee afford to gain the mistrust of these various elements which we have attempted to describe as the forces of public opinion. Irresistible and directed along given channels, public opinion in Great Britain has been under the cumulative conviction that changes in method and administration, moral, social and economic, are absolutely necessary if violent reactions against existing employment systems are to be avoided. In broad terms the issue in Great Britain as to her system of industry can be divided into

two groups: 1. Those who favor the maintenance of the existing systems without the further intervention of the State, but coupled with which there must be betterments in the status of the workman—a more liberal policy and attitude on the part of the employer, a closer kinship of joint action and a recognition by labor that industry is interdependent wherein the obligations of labor are coordinate with the obligations of capital, and that industry cannot survive or flourish without a closer fellowship of purpose and a finer spirit of associated action. 2. Those who would substitute a system of nationalized control and administration of industry in place of the present system, on the ground that the inherent defects of modern industrial management, under the capitalistic system, preclude the worker from getting his appropriate share of the benefits of his labor.

III.

The Issues Stated.

In these confused conditions of industry, following the processes of reconstruction and the war, any survey of British labor conditions should attempt to define, in somewhat issuable form, the broader questions existing between employers and employees. Obviously any statement of conflicting aims would be general in character and would not apply to or cover all particular cases. It is often difficult—at times impossible—to determine the exact issues of many controversies. The lines are vertical, horizontal and oblique and it requires a careful analysis to present the subject matter of dispute in a clear statement. The following, therefore, is submitted as one angle of observation of the larger phases of the British labor problem of to-day as they appeared to the writer:

The labor problem, as such, is world wide but vague in the particular objectives for which

it seems to contend. It is not a problem; it is a series of intricate economic, social, political, financial and ethical questions entering into every ramification of modern industrial society. In no two countries are the same or identical issues presented, because of the unlimited variety of circumstances and conditions. And yet there are certain basic ideas which interpenetrate all essential areas of labor disturbances. These common factors as observable in Great Britain may be said to be the following: Labor demands a new *status*. This objective is proof of the new consciousness of collective labor forces generally. It is not defined with especial clearness; rather it is both an aspiration and a repudiation. It aspires to a new condition with respect to rights, privileges and responsibilities and seeks a higher and better plane in the evolution of industry. It is wholly apart from, or rather it is different from the question of wage scale, hours of labor and physical environment of work. It is moral and civic rather than economic and political. It repudiates the idea that men and women, under any economic system, should be grouped, graded or classified as controllable units of production. It scorns the notion that man was

made for industry or that labor *per se* is "man's chief end."

This pursuit and demand for a higher status received impetus and inspiration from the changing conditions of the war. Labor has watched carefully the political and military arenas,—huge armies, collosal debts, death, suffering and destitution, and it has decreed that out of these vast throes, the new era shall and must consider a different and higher elevation for the mass of workers and toilers. It feels that it should be a beneficiary of the fruits of victory and a larger shareholder in the new industrial dispensation. It feels a quickened sense of power and a consciousness of its potential opportunities. It has sensed, not clearly, but instinctively the spirit of democracy that is so widely talked about, but so limitedly understood or applied. Labor likewise presents its claims for an increased share in profits, benefits and emoluments of service. It assails the intimation that it is a commodity and it is scrutinizing rigidly the various systems of industry in which it is involved. It asserts a new and enlarged realm of power, although it does not specify the way by which this power is to be applied and used. It presents a militant spirit and resents imputations

against or limitations of its alleged sovereignty. It proclaims a release from the ancient caste in which it says it has long been moulded and circumscribed.

Labor regards the friendly solicitude of ingratiating politicians with a smile of indulgent ridicule. It fails to discover wherein the *bourgeoisie* has suffered from war conditions and repels the suggestion that mere wage increase is sufficient acquittance for the sacrifices made by labor. That it be classified below or on a parity with capital, commodity or productive wealth of any kind or for any purpose whatever, labor further denies and decrees that the struggle for its own economic freedom must end by labor attaining a higher place in society. It demands guarantees, not promises or assurances. Against the employing group, labor levels the charge of "Greek-bearing" reluctant doles—artificial benefits and simulated sincerity. Yet labor as a whole is more trustful of British employers than the Government or the politicians.

The general answer of British employers to these and other declarations of aims of labor, as we have briefly set forth, is not so much in direct opposition to these aims as it is in candid explanation. Employers admit the reasonable-

ness of many of the contentions of labor, but they deny their ability to accede to the reforms asked for. Generally speaking, they admit willingness but state that the ways, means and agencies whereby these ends may be carried into practical effect are at present quite beyond their power.

They hold that under the existing industrial system of employers and employed in Great Britain, there are certain express and coordinate duties placed upon them which they must recognize and perform. They maintain that unless their business is run efficiently, successfully and profitably; unless there is an equitable economic poise and balance in the wage scale of production; unless the science of sales, finance and management is normally developed; unless invested capital is safeguarded and a reasonable profit returned to investors; unless these and countless other factors in the process of manufacture, production and distribution are fulfilled, industry, they assert, cannot continue or flourish, and the whole fabric of commerce, trade and manufacture will sag or collapse with consequent injury to the entire community.

They further maintain that labor does not fully appreciate or understand these primary

principles of industrial responsibility and that demands made by labor beyond a point of reasonable or possible compliance will react disastrously upon labor itself, as well as upon productive industry generally, and that such reactions will result from economic principles and not from arbitrary acts on the part of the employers themselves. The British employers, moreover, long accustomed to labor in organized form, have somewhat abandoned their opposition to labor associating itself into trades unions. They protest strongly against the fallacy of labor in seeking by "ca'canny," sabotage and other slow-work tactics to restrict and limit productive output, on the pseudo-economic theory that under-production sustains high levels. Likewise, they complain that the frequency of strikes, called or threatened, and the annual loss of time, money and energy arising out of recurring labor disturbances, operate seriously, if not disastrously, against the balanced conduct of their plants and factories, and that thus the ultimate reactions are detrimental and injurious to the wage earners themselves.

Toward these and many other claims and counter-claims—an accurate or complete enumeration of which would be quite impossible—the attitude of the present coalition British

government invites special attention. We allude to the government as such and not to those various elements of opinion which collectively we call public opinion, of which we attempt an analysis in this report. The present government, dominated by Mr. Lloyd George, is coalition. The Premier's duties in Paris the past few months have not absolved him from the responsibilities of troubled labor conditions throughout Great Britain. Since the armistice, industry in Great Britain has undergone a period of convalescence, and the attitude of the Government, therefore, has been amiably tolerant and obviously sympathetic in its labor policy. It has assumed no drastic position nor given utterance to vigorous principle. A spirit of receptiveness; of anxiety to let the ebb and flow find a workable level; of conciliatory suggestion, has marked its official stand toward the tangled industrial complications. Politics —in that depressing sense so familiar to us— naturally enters into the confused state of affairs and as usual serves to add further distractions to the already grave and threatening conditions. Rightly or wrongly, with or without justification, the masses of British workmen do not trust either the present government or Parliament. We saw proof, and

we believe it to be a fact, that this spirit of distrust is largely due to the belief that the present government has no policy except to keep in power until plans can be worked out further to prolong it in office. Moreover, Lloyd George is accused of having broken many promises for social reform and is also charged with having come under reactionary influences. The Liberals and Radicals, since their defeat at the polls, are not regarded as a militant political party. Therefore, the great mass of British workmen ignores them for solutions of the pressing and critical problems. The chaos existing in British industry is reflected in the chaos existing in British political circles.

The government, on the larger policies of labor, is confronted with the following clear-cut issues, and the large aggregations of labor organizations are pressing for decision. These issues are the abolition of conscription, the withdrawing of British troops from Russia, the prevention of the use of military force in strikes, release of conscientious objectors, and the raising of the blockade. The Triple Alliance of British labor bodies, comprising railwaymen, transportation workers and miners, insist upon governmental action. Mr. Lloyd George has in the past settled many threatened

strikes by extreme concessions to the workers, and it is squarely up to the government whether it will or can make further concessions, or whether it will stand and fight against the massed labor forces of the country.

II.

At this juncture a new and radical aspect of the situation requires special comment. We have spoken of the issues and controversies between British employers and employed and, in brief, of the general attitude of the present government toward these *impasses*. As a matter of fact, the larger and pressing issues are between the British workmen and the government, and not between employers and employed. The employers turn to the government for aid, assistance and protection when trouble is threatened or occurs. The government has forced upon it the duty of determining the issues at stake. We may speculate on this change of positions from many angles. We may remonstrate against governmental interference in industrial strife or we may favor such action. The fact remains that in Great Britain the controlling and dominant issue, pregnant with all kinds of consequences, is between the

British government on the one hand and the united strength of British labor on the other.

Another feature compels our serious attention. In the recent (July, 1919) outbreak of trouble in the collieries, when coal mines were flooded and a profoundly critical condition arose, the government was again drawn into the controversy, and at this writing an armistice is reported to have been reached. The extraordinary fact in these recent disturbances was that the threatened strike was said to be based not upon any question affecting the coal mines or the coal laborer—but upon a demand made against the government to compel it to withdraw the British troops from Russia. Mark this fact: The British miners, opposing a foreign military policy of the government, undertook to coerce the government by a threat of stopping the nation's basic and indispensable industry. The question had nothing whatever to do with hours or conditions of labor or with wages. It was the assertion of a new force by labor toward the government, the nation, the public.

This, then, is the critical issue of British industry as a whole; does labor undertake to coerce the government in the execution of its asserted rights and will the government accede

or stand fast in its position toward this grave and impending issue? Upon the outcome depend vast fundamental changes. If the government resists but unsuccessfully, labor emerges triumphant over government and a new political system is established. If the government resists successfully, will labor acknowledge a superior civil power or will it remain recalcitrant, militant and belligerent? Events will determine this momentous outcome, and we offer no prophecy except that if the collision does take place, one result will be the disappearance of the relations of employers and employed, and the substitution of a wholly governmental form of service and control. What encouragement this will afford the Socialist group we leave to the reader to determine.

III.

The report of Mr. James W. Sullivan deals extensively with the complicated organizations of trade unionism in British industry, and points out that the mechanism of trade unionism does not function in a manner similar to the American Federation of Labor. His analysis of the lack of co-ordination, over-organization and inefficient organization deserves careful attention. He was speaking, I take it,

largely from the standpoint of methods and forms of organized labor in the United States. Mr. Sullivan's high standing and life-long devotion to the principles of trade unionism permit him to speak with special authority on this phase of British industry.

It is the attitude of the British public not against trade unionism but toward it which merits attention, if we are to obtain a true picture of the operation and structure of the system of their trade unions as a whole. The power of labor unionism in Great Britain is conceded. Last spring there were 1183 unions, and the number has largely increased since then. Since the opening of the war a gain in union membership of 5,287,522 is claimed. The government officially recognizes the legality of trade unionism and there is practically no issue between employers and employees with respect to the enforcement of the principle of the closed shop. The chief concern of the public toward trade unionism in relation to industry is not the form of organization nor the number engaged in the ranks of the unions, it is the solemn question whether trade union officials and their followers recognize that, as their power increases, their responsibility correspondingly increases. Trade unionism is con-

fronted with grave questions of responsibility which it did not appreciate as long as it was contending for the power it now possesses. It realizes—I do not say it confesses—that it must be mindful of the interests of the trade with which it is dealing as well as its own special interests. It is forced to see that the ill usage of its power may seriously injure the industry with which it is associated. It has exceeded its habit of demanding mere self-improvement for its members; it has become a responsible adjunct and auxiliary to the trade which it has unionized for its associates. We all know how responsibility sobers even the most radical. The noisy, oratorical revolutionist, advocating some sort of industrial alchemy and haranguing groups of volatile Socialists immediately changes his viewpoint if *he* is placed in a position of official or governmental responsibility. British union labor, therefore, emerging from war-time conditions finds itself confronted with serious spheres of influence and problems of responsibility, and recognizes but does not publicly admit, the necessity of a new attitude toward the industry whose workers it controls.

"In general power," says the Rt. Hon. J. R Clynes, M. P., "in the influence which they can exert upon the direction of public affairs, upon the doings of Parlia-

ment, upon the actions of State Departments, trade unions have assumed a place of importance in the affairs of the country quite unknown to them a few years before the war. A just pride within the trade unions should not be limited to a defense of their own members' interests. These interests are endangered if industry is ill-treated, and industry is endangered if through unnecessary stoppages in trade losses are suffered which may in a few weeks do damage equal in worth to all the organizing energies which can be applied in the development of our trade and business. The responsibility of trade unions to industry is no greater, indeed, than the responsibility of the trade union leaders to their unions. To this responsibility they should stand. Both industrial and social conditions within the country require change, but where changes are not the subject of agreement they should be secured by the law of majorities acting in a constitutional manner through whatever machinery or procedure has been established for the purpose." . . .

"Numerous as is the body of organized workers, it is impossible for it permanently to separate itself from the rest of the community. Public opinion now more than ever expresses itself as to the rights and wrongs of claims as they are submitted, and the public has a remarkable faculty not merely for suffering or for overcoming inconveniences, but for recuperation when it is in any way attacked or placed in difficulties by any one section within it." . . .

"Labor is not only a collection of trade unions for industrial purposes, it is in its political aspects a creed.

It is at least a program of proposals, a body of doctrines seeking to secure the good-will of the people of the country. It is to our advantage to forget some of the mistaken strikes which have occurred, but though the public is credited with having a very short memory, it often remembers a thing which we would have it forget."

This attitude of the government toward trade union leaders marks a new epoch in the development of union responsibility. The power asked for has been substantially granted. What will the leaders do with this power, how will they exercise it in terms of the needs of expanding British industry? Trade unionism, numerically strong, although somewhat deficient in the mechanism of organization, is not free, however, from attacks on its purpose, procedure and aims. The leaders or representatives of the school of industrial thought advocating nationalization give the trade unions deep concern. Messrs. Smillie, Money, Webb and others insist, as we have pointed out, that nationalization be substituted for the system of private employment, and they urge the subversion of the general capitalistic system. Trade unionism must meet this issue; its pressure is acute. The rise and limited duration of the shop steward movement was likewise a

significant attack on trade unionism, while Marxian Socialism constitutes still a further menace in its claims for a reorganized industrial system. The leaders of trade union thought are impressed with the necessity of a sound economic basis upon which to continue their program. The *status quo ante* of the Treasury Agreement of March, 1915, is practically eliminated by the more enlightened leaders of British unionism. They see that it is useless, economically and industrially, to raise and maintain wages, allow workers to secure greater measures of betterment in working conditions and at the same time seek to control and limit production. This change of attitude, this recognition of the demands of the community and of the nation is having a profound effect on the minds of trade union leaders. It convinces them, as Mr. Clynes points out, that the trade union movement is now an integral factor in British industrial production, and that production cannot meet the demands of the community and the public unless there is coordination between the necessities of industry itself and the rules and regulations of trade unionism. The corollary of this proposal is that from the experience of the war, from the standpoint of the public, as well as from its

contact with men of broadening vision and enlightenment, trade unionism has had bestowed upon it, willingly or unwillingly, profound implications of responsibility to the public. No longer, except at its peril, can it arbitrarily impose its will on the proved economics of industrial production to the detriment of the needs of the community and of the nation. Trade unionism has become an integral part of the British public and must face its new responsibilities and duties from the standpoint of the public and not as a mere cross-section of industrial society. The wise leaders of union organization in Great Britain, who have any considerable perspective, realize that unless trade unionism has the good will of the public, either the advocates of nationalization or of the guild system or of government intervention will arise and be sustained, unwillingly but of necessity, by the forces of the public.

The importance and significance of this new status of trade unionism cannot be sufficiently emphasized. No attempt is made to prophesy how it will work out. It may be one of the results of war coordination, of a new sense of national unity or of an imprint of the spirit of service; but from whatever angle the phenomenon is viewed, this fact is crystal clear—trade

unionism in Great Britain dares not be reckless, and must conduct itself in such a way as not to forfeit the moral support of the public. If it defies public opinion, its chief support is gone. In short, British unionism is checked by the inherent weight of its own power.

IV.

Present Tendencies.

The changes which have taken place in Great Britain during the war and in the first six months of its aftermath are reflected in the general attitude of employers. No one can undertake to express the exact common denominator of thought of any group in a given society; but there are indications and acts from which general inferences may reasonably be drawn. The writer of this report does not hesitate to state his opinion that the British employer is more tolerant toward his employees than the American employers have been. This is not equivalent to saying that he is more generous, for he is not; nor does it mean that his treatment of his employees is any better; it is not. It merely means that in a discussion of the British labor problems the employer as a rule is less recalcitrant, less belligerent and more willing to be shown wherein he can benefit his industry, his employees and himself, if the suggested remedy possesses merit. In spite of the class

system, which, historically, obtains in Great Britain, it was our observation that managers and officials of industrial concerns come into closer contact with their men than is the custom in the United States. But this does not mean that reactionary employers have become extinct —by no means. The difference between a conservative and a reactionary employer is that you can argue with the former and you can't with the latter. The former will admit that you might be right, the latter denies that you could be right. From this reactionary group the radicals get most of their ammunition, toward it they direct their revolutionary barrage. The greater the number of reactionaries in the employers' group, the more radicals in the extreme group. It is the operation of the principle of reactions. From our observation, reactionary employers are in the minority and a stabilized industrial system in Great Britain is thus essentially secure.

A number of the employers with whom we conferred were solicitous and anxious to test out social reforms in their particular industry. They did not become excited in the discussion of proposals looking toward a betterment of condition of their employees, and a developed

sense of association between managers and workers.

> "To-day's programme," says Lord Leverhulme, "must go much deeper than mere attempts to prevent strikes and disputes; it must include the placing of employer and employee on the footing of equal opportunities, and of sharing the profits of trade and commerce between all the three elements necessary for production, viz., Capital, Management and Labour. The tool-user must become joint owner of the tools he wields."

We may well stop and consider this statement from the pen of Great Britain's foremost employer of labor. It would be easier to suppose the extract was from political Mr. Henderson or statistical Mr. Webb, or intellectual Mr. Cole,—the latter wistfully contriving, from his scholastic retreat, industrial Arcadys and "re-guilded" economic palaces. Lord Leverhulme is what we call a hard-headed business man and his comment is therefore respectfully referred to other hard-headed men for comment, attack or approval. The British intellectuals would call Lord Leverhulme a benevolent, capitalistic despot. The Socialists would classify him as an accidental exception to the average capitalist. The industrial-politician would probably ignore him. But the real ques-

tion is whether Lord Leverhulme's prophecy is true and if not, wherein it is false. We are all too prone to accept or deny a labor statement because of the person who makes it.

The moral effects of the war made profound impressions on British employers. They experienced the novelty of working for the nation and not alone for profits and dividends. It actually took a war to arouse many British employers to a consciousness of the changes and developments which were taking place as a result of the world's upheaval. Most of those with whom we conferred frankly admitted the changing panorama in the industrial system; that labor was becoming conscious of its collective power; that a change in status from a "hand" to a human associate would inevitably take place and was wholly justified by the spirit of modern industry. Both sides to the industrial problem had undergone, wittingly or otherwise, an experience in statesmanship. They had the opportunity and were forced to see the relation between industry, the workers and the community in which the work was done. They saw the inquiring eyes of the general citizenship appraise and evalue the status of British workmen and they realized that the public was asserting and exerting a vigorous

moral equity in the conduct of industry. This moral equity could not be ignored because, in maximum form, it meant the aroused consciousness of public opinion. Employers, therefore, as a rule, seeing the dawn of a new day of industry, have not fought against the inexorable logic of events.

II.

The British assertion that their form of government and general mode of life is the most democratic of any civilized government is reflected in the use of the word "democratic" as applied to their industrial systems. The writer has yet to find two persons in Great Britain or America who agree on a common definition of the phrase "democratization of industry." Many people use terms without understanding the meanings or implications—and it does not disturb them in the least. Does industrial democracy mean a copartnership of control? A participation in management? A participation in profits? Representation on boards of directors? Joint committees? Stock distribution? Does it mean one or more of the above measures? Does it mean anything at all? If so, what? Yet we found the phrase used gen-

erally and with facile ease, and the users quite unperturbed by the lack of definition or application. Whether as a practical method of joint operation the workers should be permitted to have a voice in the direction of all the affairs in a given industry is as much of a question and as much disputed in Great Britain as it is in America.

> "The least thing I would suggest as the workers' right," says Mr. Clynes, "is a share in the direction of industry in all matters immediately relating to the workers' welfare. There is nothing the Britisher will claim more than the right to take part in what he feels is his proper sphere of service."

Mr. Clynes then proceeds to draw a line between the province of the worker and the management, and argues that in all matters which affect directly the welfare and the working conditions of the masses of the workers, they have a right to take some share in the general management of the business in which they are employed. The writer does not believe that there is a dominating desire by workers or employers in Great Britain for that form of industrial democracy which would place the workers in the sphere of management. This is not contradictory to many suggested schemes of

stock distribution, profit sharing, shop committees, joint conferences and the enlargement of the zones of human contact between management and employees. It is merely the assertion that some clear line of demarcation should be drawn wherein the responsibilities of the workers cease. The basis, charts and formulæ upon which these various plans may be worked out are not for consideration in this report; we are limiting our observations to the conditions we found, and not to the eventual possibilities which may emerge from these projected forms. Those who employ the expression "industrial democracy" should be heedful of ultimate tendencies which loosely conceived or wrongly executed ideas of industrial management could quickly and ruinously produce.

But there is a deeper meaning of this current phrase which cannot and should not be ignored. Used as an aspiration toward a more perfect form of industrial development and equilibrium the words "industrial democracy" are felicitous and warranted. Everyone knows that factory conditions in England until comparatively recently were a national and criminal disgrace. The workers were submerged by and in a system of degraded industrial slavery. The improvement and betterment

has been slow and retarded. No one can read the history of British industry without feelings of deepest sympathy for those who worked in the dark ages of the recent past. Industrial democracy, therefore, as a spirit which tends to elevate the morale of all workers, mental and manual; which inspires man or woman with the possibility and zeal of higher development, economic, moral and spiritual, is both justified and commendable. As a suggested definition of industrial democracy the writer offers tentatively the following: it is practical cooperation in industry based upon the principle of mutuality of effort and reciprocity of benefits.

As an ideal, therefore, perhaps vague and misty, the phrase we are discussing has profound implications. In nearly all that is said or done or written about the vast human drama of labor, stress is placed invariably upon the economic, political and social aspects; but personally I feel convinced that the greatest element in the entire problem is generally overlooked or ignored. We forget—perhaps deny—that we are both human and spiritual in our origin and nature. We always dwell upon the human and seldom allude to the spiritual, and those who do are usually looked upon as im-

practical frock-coated gentlemen with white ties. But the deep, underlying defect in the entire scheme of modern industry is that it is functioning upon a wholly materialistic basis. The spiritual is not there, and until it is, until the forces of a higher spiritual impulse begin to permeate the body industrial, the writer fails to see whence the urge for higher development will come. In this vast turmoil of industry, no permanent basis can possibly be evolved without appeal to and exercise of the spiritual instinct. This is the real battle, even if the outlines are not generally seen or understood. If the war has not revealed zones of cooperative action in the world of industry; if the world is not safe for industry after all the death and suffering; if—as Benjamin Kidd expresses it —the "emotional ideal" does not enter into industrial councils, the war shall have fallen short of the objectives for which many thought it was being waged. We have seen political and military tyranny defeated and destroyed. If an economic and industrial tyranny arises, the war must go on until it is defeated. For men are re-appraising everything.

In these confused, complex industrial systems of Great Britain which this report seeks to analyze, the inquiry naturally arises whether

individualism has disappeared, and how, in each super-organization, the rights of the individual employee have been treated. As British industrial society becomes collectivized, organized, unionized and governmentalized, does the individual become lost in the labyrinthine maze? England's historic sensitiveness as to the rights of her citizens; her profound reliance of the Anglo-Saxon concepts of liberty, brings up a serious question in contemplating her industrial society as well as our own. In the fetich for organization is the individual lost? If he isn't lost, where is he? Have the responsibilities, obligations and rights of the citizen in industry been swept aside in this vast industrial mechanism? To attempt an answer to this question would argue a degree of omniscience not possessed by the writer of these lines. Whether the inquiry is answered or not, the question persists, and an answer will be offered for what it is worth. Those of us engaged in study of the labor problem in its relation to society in general are frequently inclined to forget that industry is only a part of society as a whole. That it is the most important part need not be denied. That it is the basis of society will be admitted; but it is not society in its entirety. A man is a citizen

before he is a worker. He does not lose his citizenship by any form of employment, otherwise he is not a free man. If any form of industry denies any person a full recognition and possession of his civil, political and constitutional rights, that industry is tyrannical and autocratic. If any form of industry becomes tyrannical or autocratic, it will tend to deprive a man or woman of some of their natural and assured rights, and such form cannot and will not persist in present day conditions.

Consciously, unconsciously the real storm center of modern industry gathers around this issue. Labor contends, and rightfully, that men and women are not born to be workers, but that work is a necessary concomitant whereby they may enjoy the privileges of a healthy, wholesome and normal life. If these rights of citizenship, of hours of freedom, are given to the workers, there will be no danger that the individual in any society will be lost, however complicated the industrial system in which they work may become. But if the system is so operated that adequate hours of recreation, education and development are limited or denied, then his rights of citizenship are invaded and the system is morally defective.

Who is to determine this apportionment of

the workers' time between actual labor and legitimate recreation? The responsibility of the employer is serious at this point. If the issue is to be fought out on any denial of the legitimate rights of the worker, the employer will lose the fight. If the worker wins in his legitimate contentions, corresponding responsibilities immediately appear; for the scales of industrial justice must be evenly balanced. Labor must recognize that with each demand there is a corresponding duty. Labor must appreciate that if the benefits which it claims and demands are granted, by these very grants it is under the stern necessity of rendering the very best quality of service in its power. It cannot continually demand and not adequately perform. Labor must realize that beyond a certain point the inexorable law of economics applies, and if its demands exceed that certain point, labor will be the chief sufferer. It cannot ask that capital invested by men and women, held by estates and trustees, and by persons of small and precarious means shall take the entire risk of the enterprise. It is a dual arrangement, and the obligations are reciprocal. Nor can labor claim the benefits of democracy, however defined, and not itself practice democracy. Public opinion is sincerely sympathetic

toward all the legitimate aspirations of men and women who work for their living. Will that sympathy be maintained?

No problem before the world to-day compares, in far reaching importance, to the relations of workers to those who employ them. The questions involved are momentous and portentous. In whatever country we look, the problem is pressing for solution. While conditions differ in various places, the fundamentals of the issues are essentially the same. The basic fact, admitted willingly or unwillingly, is that labor demands a larger share in the benefits derived from the industry of which labor is an integral part. We may argue about or against this proposal, but the proposal is solid fact. A new dispensation is demanded, a dispensation wherein the men, women, children who work for their living insist upon a larger proportionate share in the earnings arising out of their contribution to industrial production. It is far safer to assume the truth of this fact, than to waste time in trying to disprove it.

The world war has produced and defined the issues. The question presented is not sentimentalism nor a vague attitude towards Utopian humanitarianism. In cold fact, the condition is an economic resultant arising out of

several controlling causes, an analysis of which we are willing to attempt: No one can approach an interpretation of the present industrial outlook without believing that the war hastened and crystallized latent movements which were long aspiring for definite expression. In the immense and rapid strides toward great mechanical production, labor, in the sense of groups of human beings, did not keep pace with the rate of industrial progress. Labor became, or was allowed to become, partly submerged in the process of industrial competition. Although an indispensable and primary factor in production, labor was kept down by the very nature of the economic and social systems that prevailed. The fault lay in the leaps and bounds with which trade and industry lurched forward. The inevitable change from small proprietary factories to huge industrial organizations was not carefully appraised in terms of the human factor; nor was the transition from rural to urban modes of life, social and industrial, fully realized. Men were busy developing their enterprises, extending trade and enlarging their organization and did not pay sufficient attention to the status of human labor in these vast competitive systems. The chief fault lay, therefore, more in the nature

of the rapid industrial development than in the minds or hearts of those who owned or controlled industry. The processes—we are speaking of the last twenty years—did not synchronize economically or morally, although the results, as far as commercial enlargement was concerned, were satisfactory.

The loss of personal identity of the worker in the large and complex industrial organizations was another element which tended to obscure the moral importance and human value of the worker. The human factor in industry tended to become an economic unit. We do not mean to imply that the employing group consciously ignored labor or intentionally put it on a basis of a mere element in production. We merely state that various systems were headed toward this result and that a new and more human status would be demanded by labor, as the systems under which it worked failed to respond to its just demands. Something, moreover, was inherently wrong in industrial conditions which permitted growing distrust by labor and mistrust by employers. Many arguments, valid, false and stupid, were used by both sides in industrial controversies, both usually failing to realize, however, that the underlying movement was the result of forces essentially moral

and economic, and which were and are absolutely essential to any prosperous and stabilized industrial development.

When we add, also, the new consciousness of labor's power and strength, its realizing sense that the strictly legalistic aspect of employment was not adequate, we gain some insight into the conditions which prevailed immediately before the world was engulfed in the recent World War. We believe that these causes, which we have incompletely set forth, and many others, applied, in general, to industrial circumstances both in America and Great Britain, and we are supported in this belief by the observations we were permitted to make in our recent survey abroad.

PART TWO.

VARYING FORMS OF LABOR ORGANIZATION, METHODS, AND PURPOSES IN THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE— WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

JAMES W. SULLIVAN.

I.

The Passing of the Shop Steward Movement.

The British shop steward movement, mainly in its beginnings a war-time schism from regular trade unionism, and later a thrust toward nationalizing and democratizing industry, collapsed months ago. As a factor having a practical bearing on the industrial situation in Great Britain, it is to-day at the vanishing point.

This episode in the history of British labor is worthy a brief review as illustrating how utopias may be built on slight foundations by impatient social perfectionists and also how widely the British and American trade union systems differ in organization, practice and effectiveness.

In various British industrial occupations, shop spokesmen chosen by their fellow wage-workers to face on their behalf the employer or his foremen have long been a necessary feature of works operation. Entitled by the workers their "stewards," "chairmen," "fathers,"

and the like, and commonly becoming in the course of time the lesser constitutional officials of the trade unions, these shopmen's representatives and the foremen day by day guarded the respective interests of employee and employer.

In Britain, with the war came hastily assembled working forces in large new munitions works and other manufactories of war supplies as well as in great extensions of the existing mechanical workshops in many industries. In these establishments, department representatives of the workers were usually recognized as a necessity by the employers, and, prompt decisions regarding working conditions for all the departments being frequently required, the various representatives on presenting themselves for conference were recognized as a general shop committee.

In the non-union shops these committees could directly adjust differences, to the extent of the powers conceded them by the employers and their fellow-workers. But in the union shops a first and serious obstacle to speedy decision existed in the unit organization of certain trade unions, especially that of the machinists (in England, "engineers"). Other obstacles followed through the customarily slow

methods of the successive grades of the higher union executives.

In a British branch union of engineers, the membership is by living areas and not by working areas, or as in the United States by special mechanical trades. Hence the branch may be made up of members at jobs in various other living areas, and contrariwise a shop force may be made up of members of different branch unions. British trade unionists account for this form of unit organization by the fact that usually the "branch" combines trade union with "friendly society" features. Workmen's organization benefits are better administered by neighbors, it is argued, than by shopmates living far apart, some of them casual workers. A neighborhood branch meeting place is convenient for evening and Sunday sessions, more subject to control by the prudent members and usually distant alike from the smoke and the boss surveillance of the works. Generally, the regular functions of the British trade union run much in the groove of mutual helpfulness, stress being placed on aid in case of sickness, death, unemployment or superannuation. Strike aid is a lesser probability. Such a union is in type protective for the worker in his home

rather than aggressive as against the employer in the labor conflict.

Previous to the war, by the practice of the engineering trade unions, which for at least half a century had authorized shop stewards and shop committees, a "convenor of committee" was appointed in case of trouble, although any member could ask a newcomer in a shop to show his card; but only the member authorized by the District Committee, the controlling body over a regional section of branches, could call for a showing of all the men's cards, and that he could do for but one inspection. In the shop there was no trade union official present regularly as deputy, or shop committee chairman, to carry out affairs of the general union. The shop steward never was a collector of dues, for instance, these being paid in by members at their respective branches or remitted by post from a distance. In American trade unions the confusion of this situation is obviated by making the workshop, or the shops of a given locality, the unit for the branch union, with its chairman representing the general union in local administration.

It was in this lack of shop unity of organization, and consequently of direct executive union action, that during the war troubles through

shop stewards, both independent and union, clogged the work. In an unorganized force the shop steward could be arbitrary. In an organized force, an appeal by a union member from a decision by a foreman or a department steward went first to the appellant's home branch union and thence upward to the District and the National Councils. As diverse legislation for several branch unions having members in one shop was impracticable, appeals and conferences consumed time. "Even now," one of the largest manufacturers in Great Britain told members of this Commission, "it takes a month to get a decision from the central bodies to which our employees are attached."

This gap in efficiency characterized some of the largest British trade unions having members engaged in war work. Continuous operation necessary, the shop stewards, union and unorganized, learned to take on authority for themselves. Their powers and responsibilities became more and more important. Circumstances obliged them, singly or in shop committees, to "down tools" or to hurry up general adjustments with foremen or managers. Consequently, union stewards drifted away from the control of their executive officials at

headquarters; stewards for the unorganized—new-blood "labor leaders"—became powerful men of the day. With the dilution of skilled labor came relaxed union organization together with distrust of the higher trade union officials because of their impotence in sudden crises. The central executive control, always imposed in a roundabout way, was less and less acknowledged. "The ordinary trade unionist with a grievance to remedy found himself left at the remote end of a long chain." A large proportion of the workshop people learned to look to their stewards for assistance, defense, authority and finally in notable cases for political and revolutionary leadership.

Here was an opportunity for the modern youthful agitator—energetic, unafraid, unincumbered, chafing under restraint from his elders in union positions. When fired by Socialistic faith, the steward standing for the unorganized recked little of immediate consequences could he but promote the cause. He was in office for that purpose. The union steward, knowing that if "victimized" by the employer for going all lengths in pushing demands he would be on the payroll of his union for a twelve-month, naturally fought valiantly if not in every case wisely.

It was at this stage, when stewards and committee-men had become a power to be reckoned with in British war industry, and while the various higher executives of the unions concerned were struggling to keep members within "society rules," that a deputation from the stewards of the Woolwich Arsenal was assured by Winston Churchill as Minister of Munitions that they should be the body consulted concerning work in that important government manufactory. This understanding ignored the regular officials of the District Committee as well as the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers sitting daily in London. Recognition of stewards over the heads of union chiefs was soon extended to Coventry, Birmingham, Manchester and other large industrial centers. Stewards in many places took command, at times ordering stoppage of work in opposition to Executive Council decisions. Concessions were made to them by employers to obtain resumption of work, union executives being found powerless to compel obedience either to their established rules or to special adjustments.

District committees, seeing shop stewards recognized and setting aside union laws, ventured to follow suit, and in turn they were sus-

pended by the Executive Council, this disciplinary action, however, coming late. In many parts of the country local unofficial shop or craft spokesmen practically dominated in dealings with perplexed employers, uncertain whether agreements were to be observed. These circumstances in part explain sporadic unauthorized strikes in munitions and other works during the war.

The outstanding fact of the labor situation in Great Britain then was that, differing from the situation in the United States, there was no authorized central executive standing for a general wage-workers' organization, covering all occupations in all industries for the entire country, with which employers, singly or in bodies, might treat or look to for information or effective declaration and maintenance of labor principles and practice. Nor, save in exceptional cases, were there unions enveloping practically the whole of the single crafts, with chiefs qualified to arrange with the government as to general terms of wages and conditions for all workers in their respective lines of work. Nor, as we have seen, was there union shop solidarity. At official top and shop base, as well as in the body of membership, nearly all the British occupations concerned with war

work were, as to unionism, inchoate. The union heads lacked a complete national jurisdiction, the sectional parts were unrelated, "unaffiliated," and within any single establishment the union branches rarely attained unity in function.

The capability of the American Federation of Labor to come to a working understanding with our government on its entering the war, and to offer to employers a complete union mechanism applicable to every industry throughout the country, with models of rules, regulations and organization for the rapidly forming unorganized working forces, even to having an authorized union agent in every considerable workshop—a matter of history—will at this point come to the minds of inquirers following this statement. They will have before them these facts: Every one of the one hundred and eleven general ("national" or "international") unions, each with authority exercised from its headquarters, covers comprehensively as to its own trade and exclusively of all other trades the whole of the United States. For every craft or industry the American Federation recognizes only one general union. A traveling member of any local union is entitled to free, direct, unobstructed mem-

bership in every other local union of his fellow-craftsmen throughout the country. There is no duplication of national occupational unions, overlapping of organization demarcations, multiplicity of headquarters, variety in social plan or economic purpose, competition between unions in collecting dues, or corporate separateness in operation or a confusion through repetition in enumerating membership. The workshop local unions uniformly represent, not living but working districts; in this respect certain building trades allowing latitude. Each general union is autonomous, controlling its own trade scale, benefits, agreements with employers and internal rules and regulations. No member is under constraint to support any political party; no member need be in doubt on that point as to what should constitute his unionism. For general appeals or proposals there is in principle a straight line from every member on through his local and national union to the American Federation of Labor. He has before him a highway along which he may project his ideas to final authority. This trade union highway has neither political nor revolutionary sidetracks.

The composite and all-embracing American Federation of Labor, with which every one of

the American general occupational organizations, including the railway Brotherhoods, is to-day affiliated, attends especially to such matters of common interest as Federal legislation, inter-union financial help, the boundary lines between trades, the direction of organization, the fulfillment of trade agreements, the carrying out of the trade union social reform policy, the promotion of elementary and vocational education, and the expression of the voice of labor on all important public issues.

When any one understanding its system reads that at the annual convention of the American Federation a certain number of the national and international unions is represented by a certain number of delegates, he knows that each of these delegates represents proportionately the same number of thousands of trade unionists. He knows that the secondary class of delegates having each but one vote, sent by State and city centrals—a democratic institution peculiar to the Federation —are made a speaking part of the convention for the purpose of promoting fellowship, education and organization and for the value of their advisory opinion. He knows that when in 1919, before the accession of the Brotherhoods, the Secretary reported the membership to be

3,260,068, the regular dues for the previous year of exactly that number had been paid into the treasury. He knows that, exempted members not being paid for—the sick, the unemployed, the idle by lock-out or strike, an average year by year of approximately 10 per cent—the true membership was then 3,600,000. And now he knows that the grand total, with the Brotherhoods, ranges from 4,200,000 to 4,500,000. He knows that in all its parts this machinery of trade unionism, as built up in America, is manned, operated and controlled in every respect by wage-workers only.

No such description will answer for the British labor movement, which is politico-economic in character. It has four separate major organizations, differing in type and purpose:

(1) The Trade Union Congress, meeting annually to decide principally upon the several measures to be asked of Parliament and to elect its "Parliamentary Committee," whose mandate is "to watch all legislation affecting labor." Of recent years, under the pressure of events, the field of discussion at the Congress has somewhat widened. The Secretary's Report of the 1918 meeting gives the total membership for which delegates' Congress fees

were paid as 4,532,085; the number of delegates 881, representing 262 societies.

(2) The "General Federation of Trade Unions," described by its Secretary as "the largest purely trade union organization outside of the United States," and as having March 31, 1,215,107 of a gross membership, with 140 affiliated societies; a mutual insurance and strike benefit organization of trade unions, most of them also in the Congress, which does not pay strike money; of recent years becoming also an approved society under the government's social insurance.

(3) The Co-operative Union, its fraternal delegate to the Congress reporting a membership of 3,500,000, the great bulk trade-unionists; associated since 1917 in the Labor Party.

(4) The British Labor Party, its membership composed of wage-workers and other citizens, mixed, polling a vote equal to somewhat more than half the total membership claimed for the trade unions in the Congress and represented in Parliament by 59 out of 707 members.

When one reads that 4,532,085 was recorded as the membership represented at the last British Trade Union Congress (1918, at Derby), he should know that those figures stand merely for the total number for which entrance fees

were paid to that meeting by the delegates at their option at the rate of ten shillings or less per 1,000. Nearly all the membership returns were in round numbers, by thousands. Between the statistical statements thus reported in the Congress "Proceedings" and those made officially in detail in other union or government publications there is marked divergence. Constant discrepancy, for example, is found in reports of societies having membership in both the Congress and the General Federation; the Boiler-makers report to the Congress 82,000, but to the Federation, in which the dues are ten to twenty times as high, only 66,000; the lace pattern readers pay to the Congress for 1,000 members and to the General Federation for 66.

In comparatively few cases are the 262 organizations participating in the British Trade Union Congress of 1918 national in the sense of representing either England or the United Kingdom. The curiosities of British trade union organization are surprising to the American reader of the list. In the "National Federation of General Workers" are nine organizations (four of them having "National" in their titles), all separately represented in the Congress, each with its own headquarters and

independent administrative machinery, and mostly with special fields of operation, local or regional, the total membership claimed being 961,466. Of Builders' Laborers there are fifteen societies, only two national, many men in this occupation being members of other laborers' unions. In the thirty-nine unions listed in the Federation of Engineering and Ship-building Trades, as apart from the Congress, there are no less than three organizations of machinists; there are also six brassworkers' unions, separately voting in the Congress, while several other brass trade unions are not in the Federation. Of Dock and Riverside Unions there are fifteen, none national; of Seamen and Boatmen nineteen, only three in the Congress. Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers have seventeen societies, only two national. The "Amalgamated Carpenters, Cabinet Makers and Joiners" (96,000), exists nationally, with the "Carpenters and Joiners' General Union" (12,000), not national but also in the Congress. The Painters and Decorators have nine societies, only one of them national. Boot and Shoe organizations are eleven in number, three in the Congress; Tailoring, six, one of them national, with one other in the Congress; Hats and Caps, six, two national; Hosiery, twelve, three in the

Congress, none national. In the National Federation of Foundry Unions, 85,665 members, are twelve separate organizations. The cotton, woolen, lace and silk trades are each subdivided into many separate local or district unions, usually mutual help societies, having their own financial accounts, the membership dependent for their benefit stipends principally on their local treasuries, to which they have been contributing for years their various dues and benefits, an obstacle to fusion. The Cotton Warp Dressers and Warpers, for example, have five societies, none national, one in Congress. Of Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers there are twenty-four unions, only one of which is national, while four (50,000 members) are unitedly in the Congress. Of Woolen Weavers and Finishers there are nineteen unions, all local, one in the Congress. In the jute and flax industry are twenty-two, none national, one (18,000) members in the Congress. Outside the Miners' Federation are three Colliery Enginemen's Associations, two Colliery Mechanics' Associations, and one Colliery Managers' Association, with a total of over 26,000 members, severally represented by sixteen delegates in the Congress apart from the Miners, while many col-

liery mechanics besides have their membership in yet other societies.

It is because of these but partial attempts at unionization that many British trade unionists are calling for a general reorganization on a logical basis.

The variance in conception, principle, form and system between American and British trade union organization is illustrated in the case of the typographical unions of the two nations. The "Typographical Union of North America," with 65,000 compositors and proofreaders (and a union of 2,000 "mailers" and a sprinkling of newspaper writers under its wing), completely covers the United States and Canada. In Great Britain, London has its own "Society of Compositors," 12,000 members; the rest of England has a "Provincial Typographical Association," of compositors, pressmen and other printing office workmen, 24,000 in all; Scotland has its "Scottish Typographical Association," mixed, 4,787 members, and Ireland has in several cities members of the "Dublin Typographical Provident Society." These four organizations are represented separately in the Congress. In America, beyond the fact that a compositor with a union card may travel to any city of the United States or Canada and be entitled to the

fellowship of the local branch of the international union, and to both local and international insurance benefits, is the broader fact that the American employers' organizations of the printing industry, representing city, State, or continent, are convinced that, to form a stable contract with the one responsible general organization standing for their composing departments, they need but have an understanding with the headquarters of the International Union at Indianapolis, whose trade agreements are already co-extensive with the entire industry. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the compositor from Ireland or Scotland or out of town in England seeking work in London may lose his right to accumulated benefits in his old union and must be a candidate for membership in the local society, which may shut him out, and as a fact London has long practiced exclusion, especially during dull seasons in the trade. Each of the four distinct British areas has its own treasury, benefits, and wage rates, and it determines its own policy toward employers, its political tendencies, and its trade qualifications for membership. Should a British association of printing employers seek a trade agreement for the kingdom (hardly a probability), it would have to deal with the four gen-

eral unions separately when the contract came to particulars. The Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom, in which a score of divisions of the craft and regional unions are affiliated, somewhat as the American international unions in the American Federation of Labor, cannot interfere with the autonomy or regulations of its constituent unions. It has neither re-formed them on a union craft basis nor solidified them in an industrial union.

Commenting on the business-like completeness, unity and efficiency of the American Federation of Labor, a British trade unionist, for years high in the councils of the movement, remarked: "I believe that the superiority in organization of the American Federation of Labor is due largely to the fact that among its originators were Englishmen who, having had experience with the shortcomings of British organization, suggested correct forms for America." Cole, an indefatigable "intellectual" writer on labor matters, suggests, as to the British local union: "Let the general principle be that of the works branch (instead of the residence branch)." British union and non-union employers alike frequently express the desirability of facing representatives of all

their employees directly, without loss of time.

A comparison of the extent and character of the work carried on at the Parliamentary Committee headquarters and at the American Federation of Labor headquarters is irresistibly suggested by their respective financial statements. In 1918 the Parliamentary Committee's income was, in round numbers, $45,000, and its expenditures $35,000. It neither owns the building in which its offices are located nor issues a periodical. It does not employ organizers. The Federation's income last year was more than $650,000; its expenditures nearly $590,000. In its new headquarters building in Washington it has invested $200,000. It paid for printing and publishing the "American Federationist" $122,000. It employed 112 paid organizers, fifty of them on full time, at an expense of $165,000, besides directing a corps of more than two thousand volunteer organizers and maintaining office communication with the numerous paid organizers of the separate national and local unions.

The following quotations tell a relevant story: Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party, wrote in the "Daily News" of March 27: "The pressing need of organized labor is fewer trade unions and more trade

unionists," and he recommended "expediting that reorganization of trade union machinery which is long overdue and is essential to successful and peaceful negotiation." J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, is quoted in the Manchester "Evening Chronicle," March 25, as saying: "The greatest difference now is not between the government and the railwaymen, but between the unions themselves." J. W. Ogden, President of the Derby Congress, 1918, in his opening address spoke of the immediate future demanding earnest attention with regard to "the innumerable cases that are constantly coming before us of complaints of societies overlapping in their membership and activities," "more prolific and widespread than ever." Last year's report of the Pressmen's Union states: "There are no less than fifty towns in Britain publishing daily newspapers where we have not yet established branches." Several national unions protest in their reports against the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees setting out to organize men and women regardless of their craft interests and connections. Craft newspapers mention a long-standing claim of the Bookbinders' Union

to organize printing house women in all departments despite the claims of other trades. The Lithographic Printers complain in their last annual report of the admission of stone and plate preparers in other societies, some having joined the Irish Transport Workers and others the Workers' Union. British labor papers comment on the fact that the huge "Workers'" or "Laborers'" unions, with many-worded titles, receive both brain and brawn workers indiscriminately, a method accompanied by notable lapses and opening the ranks to aspiring politicians. How many among the craft union accretions of the last two years were unskilled shop "diluters" who joined to retain employment is a question. It is to be observed that while the total membership reported at Derby in 1918 was 4,532,000, the figures for the Blackpool Congress in 1917 were 3,082,000.

The point of this outline of the British labor movement and its comparison with the American trade union movement is to show how a shop steward uprising was a possibility, even in places a war necessity, in Britain and not in the United States. The British movement is dislocated, its several federated forces dispersed, its parts an incomplete mechanism, its functions not co-ordinated. It is an army with-

out a commander, an experiment at legislation for labor by a quadruple parliament, a unit business disunited in scores of independent establishments. Top-heavy with officials, it lacked, at the moment of the war crisis, the necessary small official to attend to the workmen's affairs at hand. His office was consequently created in, by and of the shop itself. While the shop was big in war production, he flourished as shop steward, direct democratic representative of his local group.

However, crude and clumsy as it is, British trade unionism possessed sufficient resisting power to throw off the shop steward fever, after the armistice came. From that time the stewards never won a strike and the mass of the wage-workers in the engineering trade repudiated both irregular leadership and insurrectional tactics. Product of the war emergency, with which British trade unionism was incapable of coping, the stewards' growth and power passed away with the cessation of work on war materials.

In a memorandum of an understanding had between the Federation of Employers and the Federation of Employees of the Engineering and affiliated occupations, dated May 20, a statement was given of an agreement as to reg-

ulations regarding the appointment and functions of shop stewards and works committees. Under it members of unions employed in an establishment may appoint representatives, to be known as shop stewards, to act on their behalf; a works committee may also be set up to consist of not more than seven representatives of the management and not more than seven shop stewards, the latter to be elected by the work-people members of the trade unions. The functions of shop stewards and works committees are to relate to questions concerning shop matters. Shop stewards shall be subject to the control of the trade unions and shall call no stoppage of work until the question under discussion has been fully dealt with in accordance with the agreement and rules and regulations of the trade unions. Indisputably, this agreement puts an end to independent shop stewards in any establishments in the country employing trade union machinists or other metal workers.

With the entire field of the operations of insurrectionary shop-stewardism in view, it is to be said that in the main its short-lived campaign was confined to the engineering, shipbuilding and associated industries, represented in the Congress by about one vote in ten. Sev-

eral of its principal promoters, who enjoyed picturesque newspaper notoriety for a brief season, are at this stage in prison for rioting, while others have lost popularity through their seditious utterances. Meantime, the executives of the engineers and other regular unions are recovering organization control. The principal mechanical war establishments in which the stewards were prominent have dissolved their extra employed forces. The Clyde "workers' committee," which put up bubble strikes, formed no part of the engineers' organization. The spread of so-called shop committees in the cotton industries is but the revival of a system known in the industry fifty years ago, with the committee gratuity raised by levy instead of by voluntary collection. The federated miners (650,000 members), the union railway men (400,000), the transport workers (275,000), and the general laborers (900,000) were unaffected as a whole by the stewards' movement. Even when strongest, the stewards obtained little footing among the vast majority of England's skilled wage-workers, organized or unorganized.

Much of the writing and talking favorable to the shop-steward method of gobbling the employer and supplanting the State came from

men and women outside the works, who, contemplating the millennium of their dreams, saw certain factors of the labor situation as they wished them to be rather than as they were. They failed to appreciate the difference between the temporary war services of the shop steward and his customary trade union office, as well as between the variety of petty duties performed by diverse shop organization officials known as stewards or the like and the ownership and managing functions in the administration of a business.

At present there is in Great Britain little talk of a new form of industrial organization achieved by and through the shop steward independent of trade unionism. That passing hero of quick-cure social reconstructors offered the wage-worker neither a new principle nor a helpful plan. He was but a needed local go-between for workers and employers in an emergency which is past. Neither employers nor employed have sought to give him a permanent place in the new national labor schemes.

In the United States, as a social reformer the shop steward never had a footing with the workers. To American trade unionists, accustomed to their own complete organization

mechanism, as a workshop official supplementary to the union representatives he would have been classed with the proverbial fifth wheel to a wagon.

II.

The Imaginary "Democratization of Industry."

"Workers' control," "a voice in management," "an economic democracy," "labor to head the business," "wage-workers at the directors' table," "the democratization of industry,"—verbal coinages, these, in favorite use among a group of stampeders after economic will-o'-the-wisps, a busy tribe not regarded too seriously by American trade unionists accustomed to deal with stubborn facts and non-theoretical conditions.

Behind these phrases is screened a big idea—a compound of syndicalism, Socialism, and that sociological laboratory product, guildism. One of the naïve sentimentalists promoting the new doctrine declares: "The application of the principle of workers' control (self-government in industry) is the greatest functional advance for democracy since the state extended its operations beyond police power and became an

administrator of public services." And he goes on: "Workers' control is an elastic term. It means, first, a little control in the workshop in regard to welfare and general workshop conditions. Then more control in relation to discipline, sanitation. And so on, up to full participation in control over the industrial process inside the shop and *in the industry as a whole.* The degree of control will be set by the capacity of the workers for exercising control."

Very alluring is that description of the workers' progress to prospective dominion. Admirable could it be recorded historically, it shows huge gulfs written prophetically. The kindly apostle of "self-government in industry" who indited that scenario expresses his opinion that the wage-workers of Great Britain have already paved much of the way to the goal of his vision, first through having their spokesmen in the workshop; secondly through the "enlightened self-abnegation of autocratic control" by certain employers; and third, through government action on the Whitley Committee Report.

How far along on the desired road these steps go may be estimated on first having a look clear to the end of the experiment, when the workers of an establishment shall be among

its controlling directors, and then, back to the start again, considering from the standpoint of the pioneer some difficulties in the intermediate stages.

Here is an outline of some of the managing functions in an industrial business:

1. *Setting up the enterprise*:

   Promoting the conception.
   Determining form of incorporation.
   Calculating financial requirements.
   Selling shares.

   Selecting directors.

2. *Arranging for the works establishment*:

   Leasing or buying site.
   Leasing or buying machinery.
   Installing new machinery or second-hand.
   Judging of quality of stock to be produced.
   Judging of quantity of stock to be produced.

3. *Reaching out for business*:

   Soliciting sales.
   Planning new sales territories.
   Making new ventures of any kind.
   Judging as to times of pushing sales.

4. *Everyday financial questions*:

   Judging when to buy supplies and raw materials.

Clearing off stock at a loss.
Buying patents or patented articles.
Studying competitors' methods.
Acting in crises (fire, flood, disaster).
Studying the works generally.
Scrapping machinery.
Keeping works in operation in dull times.
Forming policies of restriction or expansion.
Reorganizing the force.
Investing in secret or risky improvements.
Making agreements with rival establishments.
Taking membership in employers' associations.
Influencing legislation affecting the business (tariff, etc.).
Declaring dividends.
Fixing compensation of officers and managers.
Taking on additional shareholders.

5. *Organizing the force*:

Selecting general superintendents and department managers.
Appointing accounting department staff.
Deciding on personnel of wage-workers (women or men, natives or foreigners, whites or blacks).

6. *Creating impressions on employees, on the public and on government administration*:

Keeping faith with customers.
Making extra grants of wages or salaries.

Losing profit on one set of sales to make a profit on another.
Defending rights through the law.
Hiring lawyers and compensating them.
Deciding on percentage of depreciation.
Settling questions of assessment or taxation.
Supporting compensation laws and the like.
Choosing forms of charity.

Workmen sharing control in an industrial establishment must as owners of the property have either personal training or expert advice as to these manifold points of initiative, guidance and preservation, besides sufficient general education and brain matter to cope continually with keen-minded competitors, and they must rise to the self-discipline necessary to secure united action in a board of directors representing capital and labor. They must accept all the consequences of control, including, when necessary, passing dividends, sharing losses, reducing wage scales, dismissing surplus employees, sacrificing certainty of income, and incurring various forms of liability.

Our friendly promoters of this newly discovered route to a reign of democracy in industry, in seeking to demonstrate that the initial steps have been taken toward the end as arrived at in their theory, begin their argument by call-

ing attention to the "control" by shop spokesmen or union agents under agreements with employers. The degree to which that control goes, or whether in fact it should be called control, becomes then a question to be determined in the mind of the inquirer.

The functions of shop labor representatives are usually defined in the contracts made between employers and trade unionists. The specifications in such contracts include the following points, millions of union men in this land having agreed to them and worked under them without contemplating financial power over a single establishment, much less mastership of an entire industry:

Subjects of Workshop Negotiation and Agreements.

(a) Deciding on wage methods.

Scheduling piece rates and time rates.
Instituting bonuses and profit sharing.
Arranging as to "efficiency" methods.
Classifying the working force.

(b) Deciding on hours.

The standard week.
Short days and holidays.
Meal hours.
Starting and stopping times.
Day and night work.

(c) Deciding on shop facilities.

Safety.
Drinking water.
Temperature.
Ventilation.
Washing up.
Drying clothes.
Seats.
General hygiene.

(d) Deciding on superintendence.

Shop rules.
Foremen as overseers.
Foremen hiring and firing.

(e) Deciding on regulations.

Grievances.
Restrictions (smoking, etc.).
Tidiness (machines, cloak rooms, lavatories).
Timing hands.
Wage paying arrangements.
Charity collections.
Enforcing trade customs and labor legislation.

All familiar ground, undoubtedly, the foregoing, to employer and trade unionist, in making their working contracts, the latter remaining wage-worker and not becoming partner.

The second stage toward "self-government in industry" is achieved, by the new theory, when the workers absorb functions turned over to

them, in part, through the "self-abnegation of autocratic control by far-sighted employers." The most conspicuous illustration submitted of this alleged transmission of directive powers to the workers is the Renold factories at Manchester. It may legitimately be examined as a test of the theory.

In a memorandum on the subject, Mr. Renold himself mentions among others the points in the above list. But he is cautious in going further. He suggests, as profitable to both sides, morally or financially, certain shop practices by employers:

1. Interpreting to the workers new rules or shop developments coming from the management.
2. Discussing and working out in conjunction with the workers educational matters relating to shop processes and trade technique.
3. Announcing appointments of shop foremen to the workers' committee before making them generally known, at the same time regarding it as "open to question" whether the filling of any given vacancy could profitably be discussed between the management and the workers. Mr. Renold does not consider it practical, as suggested by "extremists," that workmen should choose their own foremen.
4. A "still more doubtful" point than the preceding, Mr. Renold says, is "education in general business questions."

5. The recommendation for "general social amenities" (works picnics, athletics, musical societies, etc.) should all be organized by committees of the workers, he believes.
6. Special "requirements to be attained" are: Keeping in touch with the trade unions; representation of all classes of workers on shop committees; giving the workers some sense of management problems and point of view; attaining rapidity of action through information to works committees.
7. Employers continually complain that the workers do not understand the responsibilities and the risks which they, as employers, have to carry. Explanation and discussion might take place as to establishing new works departments, reorganizing existing ones, and as to general manufacturing policy. Statistics might be laid before works committees relating to such matters as output, cost of new equipment, tools, raw material and as to the number employed and the amount of bad work. Business reports relating to the commercial side, to the technical departments and general trade prospects might be laid before the workers.

At no point in his memorandum does Mr. Renold carry his proposed participatory functions for the workers beyond the limits long practiced by a wise class of employers, with or without trade union recognition and assistance. Not on a single point does he part with author-

ity of ownership. American employers have gone further than he without thought of sharing with their employees the powers involved in business direction. In New York the Typographical Union and the printing employers' association have a joint committee of six members to which a discharged employee may appeal as against a foreman or superintendent. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s, "Industrial Constitution" for his company's coal and iron mines in Colorado provides that—"Employees at each of the mining camps shall annually elect from among their number representatives to act on their behalf with respect to matters pertaining to their employment, working and *living* conditions, the adjustment of differences, and such other matters of mutual concern and interest as relations within the industry may determine." The Bethlehem Steel Company, in its works committee system, agrees with the union that for the Board of Mediation and Conciliation the committee-men may "choose members from among persons *not* employed by the company." In none of these instances is "control by the workers" over the policy or nature of the business the principle contemplated. This, rather, is negotiation with equals in the labor market. Mr. Renold's principle is in-

struction of the unqualified in various phases of the processes of production.

The third lift on the way to "workers' self-government" in Great Britain is promised to the hopeful in "government action through making effective the reports of the Whitley Committee."

It is to be affirmed at once that, as a fact, the Whitley Report embodies no recommendation whatever of putting the wage-workers in charge of any authoritative part of the commercial side of an enterprise. It does not even suggest any method in shop administration not known to American workers of the mechanical trades. The main principle that the report advocates is, "granting to work-people a greater share in the consideration of matters affecting their industry." Any ambiguity in the words "their industry" is cleared away in the sub-paragraphs particularizing the committee's recommendations. These, recognizing wages, hours and conditions of labor as subject to "negotiation" and legislation, mention points in the category of "conditions" which pass somewhat beyond ordinary shop agreements but do not go beyond demands often discussed by trade unionists, or methods followed by advanced employers, or rights exercised by workers individ-

ually. These points relate to security of earnings and employment, technical education, industrial research, rewards for inventions and improvements designed by work-people, or compensation for improvements of processes, machinery and organization, etc., all "with special reference to co-operation in carrying new ideas into effect, and full consideration of the work-people's point of view in relation to them." This is assuredly descriptive of a more satisfactory state of workshop entente than common in Britain. But the gulf between the mechanical operatives and the managing directors is yet wide—as wide as between obedience and command with regard to what the works shall produce, or between the position of capital locked up in the enterprise and insistent on its property rights and the position of labor free to quit the service at any moment and insistent on its right to standard wages no matter if the property goes bankrupt.

With respect to outcome to date, the sum total of the Whitley Committee recommendations and the subsequent proceedings thereto on the part of the government, the employers and the workers, viewed in the light of American trade union methods and achievements, show excellent intention, elaborate preparation,

rather a scant crop of results to exemplify the desired ends and no surrender of rights of their ownership by employers or of rights over their labor by employees.

The first bottom fact brought out in the course of war and post-war industrial events has been that British trade union organization is unequipped with the requisite machinery for dealing with the employers, whether of a region, an industry or the kingdom. Had it been so fitted, no need would have existed for a Whitley Committee in the present sympathetic attitude of the general public toward the wage-workers. The employers could, and perhaps would, have caught up with the unions had the unions represent a working unity of British labor.

The Whitley Committee—"The Sub-Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed" of the National Reconstruction Committee, J. H. Whitley, M. P., Chairman—appointed by the government in 1916, made its first interim report in March, 1917, following it up with several other interim reports, and issued its final report July 1, 1918. On March 20, 1919, the Ministry of Reconstruction, in its Pamphlet No. 18, summarized the developments of the three years in relation to the entire sub-

ject. First, it described the machinery designed and in part set up at that date to carry out the aims of the committee, which was "joint bodies for purposes of consultation and decision of matters of common interest." These voluntary joint bodies, organized by government plans and agencies, and representative of employers and employees, were three-fold in form:

(1) Works Committees;
(2) Local District Councils;
(3) Joint Standing Industrial Councils.

The last named were "to consider conditions for an industry as a whole," the two others for shops and localities respectively. Three strata of wage-workers in which the government was to proffer a progressively paternal hand in assisting to form the councils were: The occupations in which trade unions were strong, those in which they were but partially organized, and those in which the workers were mostly non-unionists. In this process of committee and council organization, the Ministry would make suggestions to both parties, giving general assistance in establishing councils, drafting constitutions, and "issuing relevant matter," be-

sides itself "forming an official liaison in connection with every council."

Relative to the work cut out by the Whitley Committee, Pamphlet No. 18 reported that the Ministry, since taking up the task, had published a considerable amount of printed matter—reports, instructions and memoranda. It contemplated organization of employers and employees in all the industrial occupations consenting, under government supervision and regulation where necessary. Up to March twenty-six Joint Industrial Councils had been formed, the industries concerned employing "some one and a half million of work-people," and with fourteen other industries, for which constitutions were at that time being prepared, the total number of employees concerned would amount to "some two and a half millions." Under the heading "Work Done by the Councils," the Ministry's pamphlet recorded trade agreements or other labor settlements in ten or twelve of the lesser industries, every-day matters for employers and union representatives in the United States.

The Ministry has since announced that on May 1 thirty-three Joint Industrial Councils had been organized. In addition, constitutions had been drafted for nineteen other industries,

and steps had also been taken to apply the Whitley Report scheme to government industrial establishments, to the civil service and to the administrative, professional, technical and clerical staffs of local authorities. The draft constitutions for the last named bodies were issued in June. Additional trade agreements had been promoted. But, all in all, the situation was—"Waiting!"

The Whitley recommendations have looked better to the lay public and small industries than to the big unions. The Ministry stated in Pamphlet No. 18 that six of the largest occupations in the kingdom had not formed Councils —shipbuilding, cotton, railways, engineering, coal mining and steel.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, while affirming its general acceptance of the report, made certain reservations. It advised that where well-established means exist for negotiation no effort should be made by the government to interfere. Its suggestions show that it intends to maintain the authority of the unions and that any new committees shall be a part of and not apart from the trade union movement. Works committees must be a part of the machinery of the trade union.

Interviews by the writer with leading trade union officials brought out these views as to works committees, industrial councils and "democratization":

(a) "There are certain details of workshop management that may with advantage be dealt with by a joint committee, but pure business management necessitates training as well as capital."

(b) "Renold's and Rowntree's are both works committees of employees and foremen with a representative of the firm present, but their function is purely advisory."

(c) "Many schemes in various organizations have been formulated for joint committees, but they yet await the agreement of employers, and if the claim of control be extended to prices, class of labor on machines, control of conditions and processes and a close scrutiny of scientific management, employers will be suspicious of granting such concessions."

(d) "Employers are very jealous of permitting any joint control of hours and wages other than that in force between the national executives of the two bodies."

(e) "Self-government in industry has not yet been conceded to the worker, and will only be conceded in short stages amicably agreed upon as between employers and employed; and any attempt to force the pace may be met by a counter-demand by employers for freedom of management."

The Commission of the United States Department of Labor, reporting in May on British labor problems, says that during its investigations, February to April last, it "soon discovered that the details of the system, which was elaborated in five successive reports by the Whitley Committee, as far as being put into operation is concerned, now stand in the embryonic stage, and the new machinery has not yet been developed far enough to afford sufficient experience on which to base definite conclusions." Continuing, relative to a "voice in management," the same commission offers these opinions: "This phrase signifies only that workmen or their representatives should be heard in connection with the management of matters intimately affecting the workmen, such as the hour of beginning the day's work, a matter on which the shop committees want to be consulted (not length of hours, which is a question for collective bargaining between the unions and the associations of employers), sanitary conditions, safety matters, etc." "In the mind of the average British workman, the phrase 'voice in management' does not, therefore, as at present generally understood in America, extend to matters purely commercial or administrative, nor to such questions of

business policy as expanding to new markets, purchase of material, selling prices, additional investment in plant, etc. In other words, this phrase pertains to what we call shop conditions. It does not extend to what are sometimes termed matters of organization and administration." But these observations brought from the chairman of the commission a note as follows: "The above states the idea as commonly expressed to us by many workers. In the language of other workmen, voice in management means actual share in the conduct of business. The term has an indefinite variety of meanings."

One of the prominent British trade unionists interviewed by the writer thus stated his interpretation of the facts regarding "voice in the management":

> "It is doubtful whether any workmen really concern themselves with anything beyond sharing in workshop control, that is, control of working conditions and control of workshop production. So far as the foundation of the business is concerned, the arrangements made in the initial stages of starting the business, financing of the business, the seeking out of markets, whether they be home or foreign markets, these are matters that the average workman has never yet concerned himself with, nor does there appear to be any serious desire on his

part to be troubled with matters of this description now.

"The objective of the Whitley Committee was industrial peace rather than commercial or industrial reconstruction, and it does seem that many people have misunderstood the scope of the report. What the average man means when he talks about profit-sharing and co-partnership is that he shall take a percentage from the earnings of a business and that because he obtains an advantage of this description he shall assume some sort of responsibility for the discipline and management of the actual workshop.

"It is obviously not the intention of the Whitley Committee to offer control of the arrangements made to commence a business. What they really appear to intend was that there should be opportunities for discussions of hygiene, sanitation, the shortening of hours or the extension of hours according to the needs of the industry, the payment of rates of wages and even in some cases the dismissal of work-people. They do not appear even to have considered the possibility of the work-people assuming responsibility for the collection of capital, for the erection of buildings, for the seeking out of a clientele, or for the risking of large sums in the endeavor to discover or develop markets."

The "New Statesman," May 8, 1915, published the "Draft Report of the Committee of the Fabian Research Department on the Control of Industry." The inquiry, it is seen, antedated the Whitley Committee. The authors of the report expressed the following adverse

judgment of the outcome of the movement for workers' control:

> "It may be a question how far such representation of the manual workers by their own workshop committees, with or without the presence of their trade union officials—or even the election of three or four representatives, or of their trade union secretary, to the supreme governing council of the undertaking—useful as it evidently is in preventing dissatisfaction, and in enabling the mass of manual workers to gain some idea of the reasons for the decisions that they have to obey, is calculated to satisfy the workman's craving for self-direction, or for an expression of his own personality in his work. But even such partial opportunity for the manual workers to participate in the administration is distinctly exceptional. For the most part, it must be admitted—parallel with what we have seen to be the case in the voluntary or co-operative associations of consumers—the humbler grades of employees in the state and municipal service find themselves with as little influence on the management of their respective departments, and as much governed from above, as if they were in capitalist employment."

At this point, it may be assumed, the reader of this Commission's report has formed impressions, and perhaps conclusions, as to the probabilities whether the heralds of "the democratization of industry," alleged as taking place in Great Britain consequent on work-

shop "control" and Whitley committee recommendations, have brought to America solid facts and valid inferences or mere pictures of their own fond fancy. In fact, the judgment may be ventured that the news they bring is simply to the effect that the present British government is aiding to place a shield between British employers and their employees, and the question is fair whether this news is of instructive import to the American union wage-worker, accustomed as he is either to exercise his own successful methods of self-protection or to come to a trade understanding with enlightened employees.

But, even if it should be assumed that opportunity has been opened to British industrial wage-workers to share with their employers in a greater or less degree the control of workshop and industry, what would the move signify as indicative of a general economic reorganization of society, the purpose of the promoters of the "democratization of industry?"

Let that query be applied to the United States as relating to our own population. What proportion of its inhabitants would be affected by this suggested new order for workshop and industry? To what extent would "capitalism" be abolished? The reply given by statistics is

that while under this plan of the democratizers distribution of dividends would go to an enlarged circle, the bulk of our people would still be exposed to whatever economic imperfections are sought to be remedied by this means. This truth is not difficult to demonstrate. The census gives the number of persons in "gainful occupations" as, in round numbers:

Males	30,000,000
Females	8,000,000
Total	38,000,000

This total was thus classified:

		P. Ct.
Agriculture	12,600,000	33.2
Domestic and general service	3,700,000	9.9
Professional service	1,700,000	4.4
Public service	400,000	1.2
Clerical service	1,700,000	4.6
Trade	3,600,000	9.5
	23,900,000	
Extracting minerals	965,000	
Manufacturing and mechanical work	10,658,000	
Transportation	2,637,000	
	14,100,000	37.2
Total males and females	38,000,000	100.00

In the first group (23,900,000) are proportionately few wage-workers likely to take part in the management of the occupations in which they are engaged. That territory is little known either to trade unionism or workshop "control."

In the second group (14,100,000) besides wage-workers are employers big and little, the high salaried employees, young persons learning trades and the scattered craftsmen in small industries or in non-industrial communities. For the total number in these classifications only estimates can be formed. If it is one-half of the 14,100,000, somewhat over a fifth of the persons in gainful occupations in the country (7,000,000 in 38,000,000) would be in the general class in which the workers could possibly have a "voice in management." The question as to how many of this possible fifth could be reached by the plan of workers' control, carries one on into crude guess-work. Could one wage-worker in ten, or twenty, or thirty? However, reference to statistics indicates that a "democratization of industry," if it is to cover the country, requires some other plan.

Germane to the subject, and help to judgment relative to all its aspects, is comparison between the membership of the trade unions of Britain

and America. Estimates of the British male adult wage-earning population organized, made by its partisans, range from the 45 per cent of Mr. Arthur Henderson to 85 per cent made by Socialist talkers, and of the females organized, the proportion, including the new-comers in unionism, is small. If in the fifteen and a half millions of "occupied persons" in Britain there are ten million wage-earners, 4,500,000 of whom are organized, the proportion is approximately 45 per cent. However, reckoning the proportion of organized in the total number of wage-workers involves the question of what total population is contemplated in the word British. Should the total be that of England or of the United Kingdom or of the British Empire? It is the last named part of the globe for which England, Scotland and Wales form the chief workshop center. The Empire has 430,000,000 inhabitants (Whitaker).

Applying similar methods for estimate to the United States, with its population of 105,000,000, there must be deducted from the 14,000,000 group the classifications already designated as unorganizable, together with the unskilled unassimilated foreigners below the level of constantly proffered trade union help. The total of this category to be deducted may be 6,000,000

or 8,000,000. If 6,000,000, the number of organizable men and women is 8,000,000. As the American Federation of Labor and the brotherhoods now count up nearly 4,500,000, this would give 56 per cent of the organizable organized. If the unorganizable are 7,000,000, the percentage of the organized becomes 64 (4,500,000 in 7,000,000), if 8,000,000 the percentage is 75 (4,500,000 in 6,000,000). These compilations omit Canada, whose trade union figures are slight, and perhaps at most a million organizable among the industries listed in the 23,900,000 group. This admitted, the proportion organized still ranges far above the percentages usually allotted the American labor movement. In America, the I. W. W. element is not counted in the movement; in Britain, it is.

The British press, on the authority of several American employing class investigating commissions spending a few weeks in Europe recently, quoted the number organized in trade unions in this country as about a tenth of all the workers, (3,800,000 in 38,000,000). The fallacy of this statement comes to view on the slightest attempt at analysis, as we have seen. That these employers should so far depart from easily ascertainable fact indicates either that

they are ignorant of our country's labor movement or that they purposely mislead.

Percentages and comparisons, to be valid, must be relative to the kinds of production in the two nations compared; for example, agriculture in this country represents 33 per cent of the population; in Great Britain, 13. The question, however, is not of populations; it is of the proportion of industrialists. By this criterion industrial wage-earners' organization in the United States runs at least on a parity in numbers with that of Great Britain, to say nothing of the difference in the two countries of what "organization" signifies.

One view of the hopes and dreams of the speedy reconstructors of society in Great Britain were given to the American press by the interesting young woman who attended the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor as one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress. Describing the wage-class mechanisms for reconstruction, she said: "The worker in England is organized from three main aspects or functions: first, as a producer in the labor union; second, as a consumer in the Co-operative Union, and third, as a citizen in the Labor Party."

Continuing, she thus described her hoped-for social millennium: "The government will own the land, minerals, the railroads and other transportation utilities and national resources of this kind, while food, clothing and the like will be developed through the co-operative." Noting that this delegate did not advocate the shop steward route to control of industry, a song of a departed season, the size of the task involved in her methods of evolution looms up big in the light of statistics. As to co-operation, the fraternal delegate from the Co-operative Union in the Derby Congress said: "To-day we have 3,500,000 members, with an army of 150,000 people employed in the shops and factories. We did a trade, as you know, most of you—because hundreds of you belong to both movements—of £120,000,000 in the year 1916, according to the latest returns." To absorb fully the work of British stores, shops, and factories, co-operation's 150,000 employees must grow to be two to three millions, its membership to ten to twelve millions, and its trade be developed fifty-fold. Granted that voluntary co-operation, so long as it asks no privilege, must in justice have as free a field as voluntary individual competition, it is to be said that the limits of its sphere of operation have

been quite definitely marked out by experience. There are social strata below it and above it. In Britain's "submerged tenth" and contiguous population are masses left untouched by co-operation. At the other social extreme, the kingdom's "upper" and "higher" social classes, millions remain aloof from the co-operative movement. To them independence in patronage and their indulgence of tastes are preferable to savings in pennies. The case is the same in America, even with our highly paid artisans. One may be allowed reasonably to evaluate the co-operative movement and deliminate its probable area while appreciating its excellencies and aiding in its development.

A glance at the fulfillment of the Labor Party's proposed political mission yields food for thought. Before the government can own the land, minerals, railroads and the other transportation utilities, the 59 labor members of Parliament and their allied colleagues must become a majority of the 707.

Carrying the proposed peaceful revolution to the stage of the co-operative commonwealth is a matter of a long day, many minds, and billions of compensation. The subject bristles with queries regarding essentials in justice, in government, in operation, in waste. Moral

points first. Are the present owners of the social utilities and national resources to be paid for their property, or is it to be confiscated? And as to the final stage, what does experience argue? Will not the social waste be greater under government bureaus than under a gradually self-correcting competitive system? Will "production for use" (a Socialist war-cry) directed by government agencies bring more human satisfactions than "production for profit" —which assuredly must also be production for use—under fair conditions directed by individual enterprise? Will not the country be obliged to turn back from its way to Socialism when the first national experiments in manufacturing and trading disclose inevitably faulty economic principles?

Reference to the missionary task of the British woman delegate this year to the American Federation of Labor is called for in this report for the reason that the heralds of "democratization" were six months ago telling audiences in New York that our government had prevented her and a colleague from getting passports to come to America. The two delegates were to bring messages from British labor which would enlighten our wage-workers, show the way to labor's control of industry, and help in the

abandonment of the Federation's "conservative" policy and the defeat of its "Old Guard" leaders. All is over now. The precious messages have been delivered. Shop-stewardism, "democratization" and the rest of the British innovations have been inquired into and weighed up. The findings may be summarized briefly. The Federation convention saw brought before it no new British labor development that it could imitate with profit. No delegate representing any occupation had a new British idea worth adopting.

Nor can this Commission recommend any British example for accomplishing improvement in the relations of employers and employees that has in principle been untried in America. The stage now arrived at through the tutorship of the British government and the establishment of its various councils and committees is less satisfactory than the present status of the employer and employed classes in this country. Both sides here know where they stand. In Britain, what with works committees, joint councils, Industrial Conference committees, the standing trade union agreements, and all the public and private beneficent feudalistic experiments, too many voices call too

many orders, proffer too much advice and point out too many roads to the better day.

The Parliamentary Committee's action relative to the whole scheme of administration of the Whitley Committee's recommendations brings the entire subject and policy back toward the American trade union basis. The Committee, in a resolution, rendered this decision:

> "The Parliamentary Committee cannot accept any form of joint negotiations either by Works Committees, District Councils, or National Councils which may be developed as a substitute for trade union organization."

Which signifies that, no matter how numerous the government methods for bringing about understandings between "capital and labor," the trade unions are to rely on their own strength to reach their usual purposes. In their conception of democracy in industry, no other factor equals in potency the right of the dissatisfied laborer to quit work in conjunction with his fellow-workers.

III.

Chaotic British Labor Politics.

What good things for labor, to be striven for in turn in this country, have resulted from the agitation in Great Britain for "government ownership and operation" and the substitution of the hand of authority for the present voluntary relationship of employer and employed? This question brings into view before all other factors the political labor movement of the kingdom. If its consequences are reasonably happy, American labor might follow its lead.

Is British labor policy and purpose clear-cut or unsettled? Is the wage-worker, in or out of the union, impressed with a duty to vote the Labor Party ticket? Has he done so? Are the leading officials of the trade unions united in one political party? Is the party's program practical? What have been the achievements of labor members in Parliament? Have their votes shown fealty to the country rather than to theories of internationalism? Broadly, do the labor men of the nation, either as individ-

uals or in a body, show that they know where they stand and where they are going politically?

A general reply to these queries may be attempted without entering into endless particulars relating to the history of parties, leaders and conventions for all the dozen years since the agitation for British labor to enter politics attained some measure of success. A sketch of the present situation may be enough.

One certain and clear idea of British labor politics can be had from the standpoint of a supporter of the policy of the American Federation of Labor. In our country the wage-workers know without doubt what fealty to their union requires of them. They are not bound to any party or platform or candidate. The power of their will goes by democratic processes from the thirty-odd thousand local unions to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, the final interpreter of American labor's policy and program. Pronouncements on political party matters there are unmistakable. By votes approaching unanimity the conventions have successively continued to decide against a wage-workers' party, either union or Socialist. Hence, if the time of trade union meetings, local or general,

is anywhere taken up with discussions of political labor organization, of so-called labor party candidates' characters, of the course of labor party law-makers, or of the schemes and doings of labor party workers or interlopers or traitors, it is the fault and folly of the members themselves. As a fact, quite invariably political projects, ambitions, and animosities are thrust aside, and the discussions in the unions relate to purely trade union objects. The American labor movement is a trade union movement.

In Great Britain, politics has brought confusion to the workers. It interferes with the progress of union organization, engenders enmities among union officials, carries far and wide the fever of political campaigning all the year 'round, pushes labor representatives to unpatriotic votes on war measures in Parliament, brings to the party less than a fourth of the wage labor vote of the country and has eventuated with respect to efficient laws for labor's protection in a less satisfactory situation than that existing in the industrial states of America.

In the United States the labor movement is a wage-workers' movement. In Great Britain among the most reckless and erratic leaders

of the so-called political labor movement are men and women who were never wage-workers. The trade unionists, supplying to the party nineteen-twentieths of the votes and even a greater proportion of the contributions, mostly remain spectators to the play. From the outsiders comes a stream of proposals for the reorganization of society to which the majority of the wage-workers of the kingdom steadily refuse assenting votes.

The American observer visiting England today is naturally moved to inquire with regard to the present connections and activities of labor men whose names he was once accustomed to hear associated entirely with British trade unionism. He knew these men, or knew of them, at a time when, whatever their social theories, they were united in union sentiment on common ends, were mutually appreciative team-mates, were usually impressed with one another's sincerity, each acknowledging the other's merits or deeds of self-sacrifice. What are they saying about one another to-day? In how many separate camps are they training?

They have indeed scattered.

Looking over the list of the British fraternal delegates who, beginning with 1894, have attended the American Federation of Labor con-

ventions, one comes first upon the name of John Burns (Engineers). Politics carried Burns away from the duties of his union, put him in Parliament as a Labor representative, turned him over to the Liberal Party and took him to the presidency of the Local Government Board. Five years ago on the outbreak of the war his sentiments divided him from the mass of his countrymen and he passed into private life.

J. Havelock Wilson, '97 (Sailors); his union record approaching forty years; to-day he is variously designated in the reference books as a "Coalition Labor" or "Coalition Liberal" M. P.; his majority over his opponent, a Labor candidate, last December 13,089; in opposition to the Labor Party yet elected at the Trade Union Congress to the present Parliamentary Committee; for years a target for Socialists and extreme Labor partisans.

Will Thorne, '98, (Gasworkers); Labor M. P. for thirteen years; once a strong Socialist; during the war a patriot, attaining the rank of Colonel; member Parliamentary Committee.

Alexander Wilkie, '99, (Shipwrights); Labor M. P., twelve years a member Parliamentary Committee; at present member Management Committee, General Federation of Trade

Unions, the body two years ago excluded from joint committee work with the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party.

Ben Tillett, '01, (General Secretary, Dockers); Labor M. P.; member Management Committee, General Federation of Trade Unions; Socialist; strongly patriotic during the war; an independent in the Triple Alliance.

James O'Grady, '05, (Furnishing Trades); Labor M. P.; candidacy unopposed; Captain during the war; last year Chairman Management Committee, General Federation of Trade Unions; Secretary Workers' Federation.

J. Wignall, '04, (Dockers); Labor M. P.; has held various government positions.

W. Mosses, '05, (Pattern Makers); in government service, Ministry of Labor; ten years member Parliamentary Committee.

David Gilmour, '05, (Miners); General Secretary, National Democratic and Labor Party, now represented in the House of Commons by ten members; on the other side of the house from the Labor Party; personally commands general respect.

J. Bell, '06 (Laborers); Labor M. P.

Sir David Shackelton, K. C. B. (Weavers); ex-Labor M. P.; Permanent Secretary Ministry of Labor, Coalition government.

John Hodge, '07, (Steel Smelters); Labor M. P.; ex-Privy Councillor.

Rt. Hon. John R. Clynes, '09, (Gasworkers); Labor M. P.; recently Food Controller, Great Britain.

Rt. Hon. W. Brace, '10, (Miners); Labor M. P.

George H. Roberts, '11, (Typographical); Labor M. P.; Controller, Ministry of Food, Great Britain; with Coalition against party orders.

J. A. Seddon, '12, (Shop Assistants); Coalition Labor; opposed to Labor Party; Chairman, General Council, Democratic and Labor Party; member of Parliamentary Committee 1908-15; chairman for several years.

H. Gosling, '16, (Waterman); member Parliamentary Committee, Trade Union Congress; long prominent in London County Council and official in its administration.

A. Hayday, '17, (General Workers); Labor M. P.

F. Hall, '18, (Miners); Labor M. P.

The lack of unity, in politics or otherwise, illustrated in the case of these prominent leaders, characterizes the situation in all grades of union membership throughout the country.

In November, 1918, at a special convention

of the Labor Party held in London, by a vote of 2,117,000 to 810,000, a resolution was passed by which the party withdrew from the coalition with the government and directed the eight labor men occupying high government office to withdraw. Four of them, Messrs. Brace, Clynes, Hodge and Walsh, obeyed. The four others remained in the government. The Rt. Hon. George Barnes, of whom his opponents said he had a "long and creditable record of activity in the trade union, labor and Socialist worlds," became a prominent member of the Peace Conference at Paris. The Rt. Hon. George H. Roberts remained with the government and replaced Mr. Clynes as Food Controller. J. Parker remained in the Local Government Board. G. J. Wardle, of the National Union of Railwaymen, editor of the "Railway Review," former Chairman of the Labor Party, remained in the government as Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade. The "defection" of the latter four was duly mourned in the Labor Party press, but in the election of December last all were returned to Parliament as free-lance Labor members, their position in the Labor Party equivocal.

At the Trade Union Congress at Derby, September, 1918, W. J. Davis (Brassworkers)

moved that the Congress declare in favor of a distinct political labor party, exclusively for the trade union movement, his motion initiating a discussion on politics which took up a considerable part of two days' sessions. Mr. Davis has been General Secretary of the Brassworkers for many years, is author of a history of the British Trade Union Congress in two volumes and is a citizen of good repute in Britain. His speech was a spirited arraignment of the present Labor Party. He charged that the "intellectuals" had done their best to capture the executive control of the trade unions. He asserted that when fifteen years ago the constitution of the Labor Representation Committee was set up by the Congress, the initial step in forming a party, the qualification for a Labor candidate was that he should be actually working at his trade or be a trade union official—a precaution since forgotten in pursuit of votes. He wanted the Congress "not to treat too lightly" the question of putting up as candidates "brilliant middle class speakers who tell you that they know the wants of the workers better than you do, because they have had a collegiate education and you have not." He gave as an example what had just happened at Birmingham, where three "middle class" men out of

four candidates had been selected to champion the cause of labor at the next election.

In supporting Mr. Davis' motion, General Secretary E. Cathery (Sailors and Firemen) said: "We find that there is a tendency for the trade unions to be captured by the intellectuals, the pacifists and the Bolshevists."

The debate on Mr. Davis' resolution was heated and personal. Prominent veterans of the Congress were derided as "never having been out-and-out labor men." Charges were made that certain speakers represented non-labor political interests. An amendment annulling Mr. Davis' resolution was carried 3,815,000 to 567,000. A further amendment, moved by G. A. Isaacs, General Secretary Pressmen, proposing that the trade unions affiliated with the Labor Party should constitute themselves as a political federation within the party and meet annually, was after considerable argument lost—yeas, 1,060,000; nays, 3,107,000. The significance of these two votes is not seen in the figures, the Socialist delegates representing great numbers in the unskilled unions being pitted against a considerable body of delegates representing the skilled unions with a smaller membership.

Harsh criticism of British trade union offi-

cials, whatever their political affiliation, goes on throughout the year in public meetings and the press of the extremists. Savage attacks were made by the international Socialists on Colonel John Ward (Navvies), Coalition M. P. and member of the Management Committee, General Federation of Trade Unions, when, commanding a battalion of railroad workers in Russia, he was obliged to engage in battle with detachments of the Bolshevists. To the British supporters of the present Russian régime he was "a butcher of the working people."

J. B. Williams, (Secretary, Musicians), is assailed regularly throughout the country because of his opposition to Labor Party methods; yet he was elected at Derby to membership in the Parliamentary Committee, of which he has been a member for ten years.

The one daily newspaper in London assuming to represent labor—its leading editor, George Lansbury, once a Labor member of Parliament but not a wage-worker—carries on a crusade of opposition to all the leading trade unionists not in agreement with extravagantly radical and pacifist views. When the terms of the Peace Covenant were published in May, the "Herald" printed such first-page headings as "Germany in Mourning," "Obstacles to a Real

Peace," "Jingo Press Howls for Harsher and More Humiliating Exactions," "British Workers Join Herr Wolff in Indignant Denunciations of Peace of Violence," "Capitalist Peace of Fear."

The "Herald" published, May 9, a "stirring manifesto" from the national executive of the Labor Party. In this manifesto were such passages as these:

> "In so far as organized labor was not represented in the Peace Congress which drafted the treaty, and as its general spirit does not conform to the working-class conception of a peace of justice and right, we can accept no responsibility for the violations of principle involved in the settlement."
>
> "Only under the influence of the working-class movement, organized in the International, can the imperfections of the present treaty be completely eradicated and its provisions adapted by the League of Nations to the requirements of a changing European order."

These sentiments of the party executive, however, were immediately repudiated by many of the party members at public meetings and in the press.

The Labor Party was sadly disappointed in the results of the election last December. Claims had been made that it would return from 100 to 200 Members of Parliament. The prin-

cipal extremists among the candidates, Snowden, Ramsay McDonald, Anderson, Jowett, Henderson, were defeated. The 59 members elected are by no means a solid block. Their published views on public issues continually vary.

The knife is busy. Old Labor Party opponents of the new National Democratic Labor Party allege that its candidates were in part financed by funds subscribed "through the 'Morning Post' and other organs of privileged groups." The British Socialists, rent by dissension, some of them loyal to their country during the war, spill ink in calling one another names. The trade unionism of some of the 59 members is assailed by undoubted unionists. Possession of a union card, rather than evidence that one has served an apprenticeship, may draw out the taunt that the bearer once was in a workers' union which admits "laborers" indiscriminately. In the annual report of the General Federation last year, the General Secretary in defense said: "In my humble opinion the Federation is the only trade union movement we have in the country." In the "Federationist" and the "Democrat," W. A. Appleton has maintained an independent British citi-

zen's criticisms of much going on in the name of the Labor Party.

Chaos is the appropriate descriptive term for British labor politics and labor reform. There is no undisputed solid ground on which the progressive trade unionist can continue his advance. Compared with the speedy and unmistakable clearing of the air at Atlantic City by the American Federation of Labor Convention on all the important labor issues of the day, the numerous political and labor movements of Great Britain but serve to darken the skies and lessen hope for the future. All about the bewildered voter of good intention is confusion of voices, votes, programs, methods, rumors, whisperings, urgent appeals and personal attacks.

In the political field the British trade unionist hears it positively asserted that "labor's daily newspaper," the London "Herald," which few buy, is maintained by German bankers and Indian magnates. He hears veteran labor officials declare that "these labor politicians of every stripe are forever talking for votes and acting for effect on their own political fortunes." His attention is directed to the fact that while a few "intellectuals" supply issues and name leaders the trade union membership in the Labor Party is at least two millions, the

Socialist managers contributing fifty thousand names and the unions nearly all the money. He hears one set of men declaring that it would have been better had labor never entered into politics while another set assert that labor never received the slightest consideration in the House of Commons until its own representatives were there bearding the conservatives. If he is inclined to associate with down-deep radicals, the British wage-worker is obliged to choose between the Independent Labor Party, the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the National Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of Great Britain. The sundered parts of the split-up and sawed-up old original Socialist Party are scattered all over the British Isles. To ascertain the merits of the differences between these Socialist groups the earnest sociological student would be required to give a month's reading to the bundles of their controversial printed matter and exercise the acumen of a learned judge.

In the Labor Party itself the inquirer finds in political "co-operation" or "co-ordination" strange bedfellows—the Trade Union Congress, the Socialist and Co-operative Societies, the City Trades Councils, the local labor parties and the Women's Labor League. Among the fifty-nine

Labor representatives in Parliament he is told there are men of every shade of political opinion, from the timid conservative to the ardent supporter of violent revolution. Some of the fifty-nine hold dual office under the government and some are implacable opponents of the government. In the House, men claiming to represent labor vote with the Coalition when Conservatives are voting for labor measures. Condemnation inevitably falls on the heads of trade union officials in Parliament; if they attend to their union duties they must be absent from the House; if they sit conscientiously in the House they are charged with neglect of their union work and not earning their salary.

The puzzled unionist hears to-day clamorous advocacy of the political strike to take the place of the ballot. He hears continual demands for local and national meetings to discuss political or international issues. During the last year there have been repeated calls for national labor conferences—on the unemployment problem, on the peace treaty, on questions of demobilization, on the distribution of food in the famished continental countries, on the treatment of soldiers and sailors, on the wage-workers' payment of income taxes, on the secret War Office circular prying into working class sentiment.

He hears the rejoicing of a mild school of land reformers over "England changing hands" scoffed at by the thorough-going school of radicals who want all property to change from private to public hands and who allege that the present considerable sales of real estate are merely from land-poor gentry to new-rich profiteers. He hears warm advocates of political trade unionism admitting, "There are internal difficulties and dissensions in Great Britain both between the Labor Party and the government and within the ranks of the Labor Party itself."

He is called on to take sides in problematical international issues and on propositions for dubious international congresses. He is confronted with the duty of settling in his mind his scruples of patriotism in connection with international conventions—at Stockholm, at Berne, at Paris, at Kienthal, at Zimmerwald, at London—with Allies, with neutrals, with Germans. He sees at such meetings supposedly sober British representatives chummy with the wild Cachins and the Marxite Longuets of France and the obstructionist Italian Socialists who openly opposed their government during the war. He is expected to shout for quixotic international projects, such as world-wide free

trade and similar universal brotherhood preachments, non-existent to American labor. He beholds prominent on the labor and Socialist stage high-brow pacifists and conscientious objectors, some of them interned during the war. He becomes acquainted with earnest people in the Labor Research Department, formerly the Fabian, struggling with their Socialist prepossessions in endeavors to put before the public in scientific form serious reports helpful to the general British public, entertainment being supplied at their meetings through the dignified chairmanship of Bernard Shaw and the fanciful guild projects of G. D. H. Cole.

He sees unionists swallowing the dose of intellectual "borers within" put forward as "experts" on labor matters, men who never were rank-and-file members of any wage-workers' organization. He probably sympathises with the remark of the philosophic humorist, James Sexton, M. P., (Dockworkers), who, inquiring at a party conference what in fact the labor issues were to be, said: "I don't want to go to the next general election with only a Fabian essay around my neck."

He notes that the type of leader holding precarious power over the mixed-up and inter-contentious mass is not the straightforward and

outspoken exponent of practical and obtainable measures, but the secretive, non-committal compromiser, "tactician," "strategist," the boss shrewdly calculating party or personal advantage rather than striving for results affecting the country's destinies, promising the visions of Rainbowland to fanatics and the sweets of office to the worldly wise.

He gets such shocks as witnessing the Labor Party M. P.'s voting in a block against necessary army credits. He reads in the daily papers articles written by prominent trade union officials in which the labor Triple Alliance is arraigned as "an outstanding example of every action which in others labor is called on to denounce," and enthusiastic articles by industrial unionists proclaiming the same Triple Alliance as the forerunner of the proletarian State.

In the end, the puzzled and defeated British trade union inquirer does occasionally act with the great body of his class and caste. Shaking off his habitual lethargy, he now and then attends meetings or conferences of his union or party, and, sinking differences, cheers with either friends or enemies, applauds crusaders who want things he doesn't want, and boos or laughs with disturbers, interlopers, hecklers; in

short, shows a willingness to roar in chorus with any animal in the menagerie. He "doesn't know where he's going, but he's sure he's on the way."

The stranger finds ample reason to wonder at the mystery of British self-contradiction. The "ins" and "outs" of labor politics, the loyal and disloyal to party, move along in social or committee affairs in apparent smoothness; wrangling fire-eaters eat, drink and exchange compliments at public banquets; rare is the British radical who refuses to hobnob with an agreeable but officially detested capitalist; some revolutionists work with the government, others oppose any truce with the government. The merciless word exploder, Lansbury, is a favorite with established church bishops and at times declaims beautiful faith from their pulpits. Once militant trade unionists now rest quietly in public office and take on titles. After seasons of mutual destructiveness, all sorts and conditions of the friends of labor get together for a day and sentimentalize on the necessity of doing something in a spirit of united brotherhood.

For this Commission the particular question is, What are the recent social betterments in Great Britain, through the government or

otherwise, in which labor has notably been benefited but which have not been brought about in the United States?

Noting and discussing the suggested or half-developed machinery from which results are hoped is mere preliminary matter. Conferences, congresses, committees, unions, parties, industrial councils, acts of Parliament,—all these are but means to an end.

In what respect are the British wage-workers actually now more advantageously placed than the American? Have they found wide open ways to high civic and economic levels not attained in this country? Those are the pertinent queries.

Let an outline of working-class conditions be looked over and comparisons be made.

In pre-war times American wage scales were uniformly double to treble those of Great Britain. The general rates of money wages in Great Britain are yet to-day below—for much of the population far below—rates in the United States. For several years, the relative cost of living, standard for standard, has been an arguable question. A subsidy in Britain gives the cheaper bread. The British wage-worker may live the cheaper through doing without what American wage-workers regard

as necessaries. He is strong on self-deprivation, beer excepted. As to food, as it became dear he constantly shifted his consumption from the higher to the lower-cost commodities, to bread principally, and as to habitation and the comforts of life, he never enjoyed the space and facilities common to laborers in American communities. As a citizen, his desired political reforms have been to secure rights usually long exercised freely by Americans. The recent notable extension of the suffrage in Great Britain leaves the voters there short of the franchise powers of Americans, who elect not only the members of city councils and the national legislature, to which the vote in Great Britain is almost entirely confined, but also various other of the people's servants, including judges on the bench. American citizens now decide at the polls the fate of numerous proposed laws applicable to state or city, a purely democratic method stubbornly opposed by the British intellectuals. As to certain of the subjects of "social legislation" in Great Britain, examination shows either their inapplicability in the United States or their undesirability. None of the authorities of the National Insurance Commission of whom inquiry was made felt equal to the task of suggesting

an adaptation of the British system to the United States. How to apply its methods of sickness insurance contributions and payments in our diversely developed states, some industrial and many agricultural, and how to establish Labor Exchange systems all over this country, are problems in essential respects apart from those of Great Britain. As to other social or Socialist innovations advocated by the British Labor Party, they lack approval by the American trade unions as a body. They have not been obviously adaptable here.

The American wage-workers in the mass might possibly consent to plunge into the welter and confusion in which the British workers are struggling if a goal worth the effort could be shown them, but, standing in advance of the British working classes, in general comfort and welfare, in the rights of citizenship, in possibilities of social equality, in trade union organization, in economic and educational opportunity, they feel no need of the British Labor Party's untried composite Socialism. They cannot help regarding it as inimical to America's spirit, ideals and permanent good. They have little confidence in the Socialist type of leader, in party or in parlor. American trade unionists, after patient tolerance of successive

shoals of screaming social subverters, have put up bars stronger than steel against them, in local unions, national unions and the great union of unions, the Federation. The Typographical Union of New York City declares as one of its standing rules, "No subject of a partisan-political or religious nature shall at any time be admitted." The International of the printers prescribes, "No subordinate union shall assess its members for partisan political purposes." For nearly forty years the American Federation of Labor has rejected every plan for Socialism proposed at its conventions. Judicially, year by year, studying and discussing each proposition, it has condemned all alike. In its judgment there has never been before it a scheme for Socialism that would not begin with gross injustice and end in social ruin because economically unworkable.

Of the many proposals now before the British nation for the betterment of labor conditions, it would be strange indeed were not some apparently of fair promise, circumstances being what they are in the kingdom. But there is not one yet at that stage of success that would warrant advocacy of its immediate and unqualified adoption in the United States. In fact, the position may be safely taken in this

country that, before assuming that a measure of some social help and even of importance in Britain would be productive of good in America, the well-wisher for our working people must weigh differences—of status, organization, laws, conditions—and do the weighing thoroughly well. As to labor politics, the present situation in that regard in Britain offers no example or guide to American labor intent on unity and seeking solid achievement.

IV.

Factors for Economic Change in Great Britain.

The Triple Industrial Alliance is a labor combination for direct action to achieve trade union purposes incidentally and politico-economic purposes ultimately. It aims beyond wages and welfare clear to nationalization of certain industries and internationalization of certain social principles.

The alliance is made up of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (650,000 members), the National Union of Railwaymen (400,000) and the National Transport Workers' Federation (275,000). Its basic principle of organization is: "Recognition of the fact that in the case of the miners, railwaymen and transport workers, an injury to one is in a very special sense an injury to all."

The alliance began systematic joint action in 1913. By experience in the strikes of 1910-12 the lesson had been learned that a stoppage by one of the three bodies led to an involuntary

stoppage in one or both the others. After conferences in 1914-15, the constitution of the alliance was ratified in December, 1915. Joint meetings of the three executives were held on two occasions in 1916. At a meeting in April of that year resolutions dealing with after-war problems were passed, demanding that departures from trade union practices should terminate on the resumption of peace and that substituted workers should be given employment at standard rates or full maintenance by the State, and making certain proposals in connection with demobilization. When this program was presented to the Prime Minister in August, 1916, the "Times" accused the Triple Alliance of "formally attempting to supersede constitutional government and to frighten the appointed ministers of the crown, who are responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the nation, into doing their will."

In June, 1917, the alliance, at a conference attended by 280 delegates, passed resolutions against industrial conscription and for the conscription of wealth and property, to bring about equality of sacrifice. A writer in the "Labor Year Book" is of the opinion: "The Triple Alliance is a practical affirmation, more effective than any theoretic argument, of industrial

unionism." J. H. Thomas, explaining the origin of the alliance, has written that he "saw that sectional unionism had become obsolete and that even occupational unionism would have to be put into the melting pot and recast." A radical opinion is that "the Triple Alliance is the nucleus of a General Federation of Industrial Unions which may be of invaluable importance to the future of the labor movement," and, further: "It may, for instance, be permitted to hope that the power of the alliance may be employed to raise the status rather than merely to increase the wages of its members. The principle of partnership with the community, now definitely embraced by the National Union of Railwaymen and widely advocated among the Miners, is one which may well become the guiding ideal of the Triple Alliance. Labor's new machinery will thus give labor a new aim, with consequences hitherto undreamed of in trade union philosophy."

The Triple Alliance stood aloof from the joint standing Industrial Councils and from the special Joint Committee of the government's National Industrial Conference of Employers and Employed which met in February in London. At this conference, however, J. H. Thomas, representing the alliance, in a written

communication stated its official policy and theories. The organized workers of Great Britain, according to this statement, have made up their minds to procure an increasing share of the wealth produced by their labor; they are determined to shorten materially their working hours; they are dissatisfied with a system which treats their labor power as a mere commodity to be bought, sold and used as though they were machine-like units in the process of wealth production and distribution. And they demand that they shall become a real partner in industry, joint sharers in the determination of working conditions and management. They stand unalterably for the ownership by the State of the mines, railroads and means of inland and coastal transportation. However, they recognized that the capitalist, the inventor, the director and the organizer have some interest in the products of industry.

Of the three foremost leaders of the alliance, J. H. Thomas has repeatedly advised a moderation in procedure falling far short of the desires of extremists; Robert Smillie, of the Miners, President of the Alliance as well as of the Miners' Federation, was chief on the labor side in conducting the sessions of the Coal Commission in London, a mission which he per-

formed to the satisfaction of Socialists generally, and Robert Williams, representing the transport workers, is much in the public eye, especially as a speaker in opposition to the government. As a candidate for the House of Commons last December Williams was defeated by Major J. Edwards, Coalition Liberal: 13,635 votes to 7,758.

If accepted as one hundred per cent solid for Smillie and Williams, the Triple Alliance would be undoubtedly a standing menace not only to the State but to British trade unionism; but there are reasons for regarding it as less frightful than it looks on first blush. It is commonly asserted that unauthorized preparations by its executives for a general strike would cause a demand for a secret ballot by all concerned, ending in general exposure of internal weaknesses now obvious to the other unionists. The National Sailors and Firemen (65,000), with Havelock Wilson at their head, are united to the alliance by slender ties, and the independence usually shown by the National Union of Dock Laborers (45,000), James Sexton, Secretary, is apt to be displayed, one way or other, on occasion. Nor is the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union, Ben Tillett, Secretary, easily led from its own

chosen ways. There are more than 200,000 railway employees, one-half of them organized, not in the National Union of Railwaymen and several hundred thousand mine-workers not in the Federation. The trade unions outside the alliance are far from united in supporting its methods.

In the last week of May, after much consideration, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress declined to act upon a request made to it by the Triple Alliance to call a special national labor conference to take action on the abolition of conscription, the withdrawal of British troops from Russia, the lifting of the blockade on Germany, and the release of the imprisoned conscientious objectors. The Parliamentary Committee decided that the government's statements to a deputation on these subjects were sufficiently satisfactory.

The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes of the General Workers' Union said a month ago: "The Triple Alliance is an outstanding example of the very action which in others labor is called upon to denounce." In an article in the "Democrat," "Britain's Danger," W. A. Appleton called attention to the fact that the Triple Alliance represents less than one-sixth

of the working population. He regards it as endeavoring to secure special advantage at the expense of the rest of the working class. He reasons that damage to other industries, even if only temporary, must reduce the demand for coal and the need for transport and entail the loss of overseas markets. He says: "The time is very near when the delegates of every trade union outside the alliance must think and act for their own peace and the community."

The labor press and leaders friendly to the alliance point out that through its strength for direct action—the threat of strike—were obtained the recent concessions from employers and the government resulting in considerable wage advances, the forty-seven hour week and the recognition of higher standards in working conditions in the three industries. Trade union opponents of the alliance, while admitting its effectiveness for wage advances and the like up to the present time, are profoundly disturbed at its methods as applied to political purposes, especially those of international import. Recognizing its exercise of power not only for trade union objects but for revolutionary ends as an extraordinary event in British history, they inquire with concern as to the probable limits of this power and its eventual social effects. They

are aware, as its supporters say, "that if the Triple Alliance wills it, the industrial life in Britain will stop short," or again, "It can hold up the economic life of Great Britain." This theoretical truth would be the more significant if spoken of British radical politico-industrial unionism in its entirety, than which no graver social problem could be before Britain. Whether, to compel nationalization of one industry after another, the nation is to be held up by a force within itself superior to its constitutional lawmaking powers, how often and to what extent that force is to be aggressively employed, what revolutionary economic reorganizations will be demanded through it, what will be the action against it by the government backed by other social forces—these questions suggest crises which the country may possibly at any time be called upon to face. They lead to the vital question: Is Britain's present social system to be overturned by a consolidated mass of malcontents, whether so rightfully or wrongfully, or is progressive social improvement to be arrived at through legislative methods and ameliorative forces, some of which are already important aids in the country's economic life?

The possible alliance strike, and the possi-

ble general strike for political ends, imminent realities to extremists, are discussed by some trade unionists rather as an academic question. The "Railway Service Journal," June, 1919, says:

> "Assuming that the majority of the organised workers were rightly convinced that the government were acting contrary to the general will and well-being of the electorate, and that those workers—who are a minority of the electorate—felt justified in seeking to overthrow the government, should they act through the Labor Party or the Trades Union Congress? If the former, how could they act? If a strike, which body would control it? Would not a strike destroy the present basis and function and need for one or the other body? And if there were a general strike, would not the government and large numbers of citizens and some soldiers take 'direct action'? We consider that some of the more prominent advocates of 'direct action' to upset the government should frankly tell the rank and file all that may be involved, though we wonder whether if the workers should find themselves behind the barricades they would still be led in person by those pacifists and non-believers in violence who for the most part are now encouraging them on a road that may lead them to red revolution!"

The nation's hope is that the cataclysmic strike by the "one big union" may never be declared. From officials of the Triple Alliance itself have come proposals for nationalizing

by legitimate means the industries in which its members are engaged. A detailed plan for nationalizing the mines, transmitted to the Coal Commission by an official of one of the miners' unions, was published in full in the newspapers of the time and attracted general attention. Besides, from the Fabian Society another plan was brought forward embodying, it is commonly said, ideas long discussed throughout the kingdom among the moderate Socialists, and the guild Socialists were last spring discussing a third plan, one of mingled compensation and confiscation. The Railway Clerks' Association (80,000 members) have issued the draft of a national transport services bill which makes provision for the purchase by the State of the railways in the United Kingdom, with canals, hotels, docks, harbors and auxiliary services, all to be managed by and for the benefit of the State. The bill and the notes attending it, a considerable document of 57 printed pages, gives numerous particulars of proposed operation. It also provides for the co-ordination of road, motor, aerial, coastal and steam packet transport services as part of a national system. Inasmuch as this plan was made up by railway clerical men of every grade, many of them concerned in a large way in the operation of the

present transport services, it may be regarded as having merits deserving serious attention.

When an investigator has heard trade union leaders, men of caution and common sense and a good general knowledge of their occupation, giving reasons for their belief that mines and railroads can be operated by the employees, inclusive of superintendents and assistant managers, the project appears one entirely different from those brought forward by the old-time visionary theorists bent on nationalizing indiscriminately all capital and land—and labor.

British trade unionists who are not thoroughgoing Socialists hold that the usual arguments against State operation of commercial or manufacturing enterprises fall off in force when applied to the mines and railroads of the kingdom. They say that arguments which may hold good against nationalizing in the United States, with its great area and population and many State governments, do not fit in with conditions in Britain—nor, they say, has land and mine ownership in Great Britain the same validity through authorization by the present generation that it has in America. The social abuses to be corrected, especially in regard to housing and harsh treatment, are more acute and more numerous. Both mining and railroad opera-

tion have been weighted down through the rack rent and blackmail royalties of the British landlords. The majority of the railway workmen of Great Britain have until recently been laboring in servitude at miserable wages. The testimony before the Coal Commission regarding mine workers' living conditions disturbed the British as a nation. Public opinion may be reconciled by the all important fact that the new nationalizers propose that the State shall pay for expropriated property.

The panic over Triple Alliance aggressions last spring came at a time when many people of all classes, chastened by the war, were of a mind to redouble their efforts for the permanent improvement of the poorer classes of the nation. Everywhere was heard expression of generous and patriotic sentiment. Committees of inquiry on social questions, representing the State, the Church and voluntary societies, had been at work. Their reports uniformly looked forward to a better era for labor. Certain rights and needs of the workers obtained national attention and recognition. That the colliery or railroad worker should have a voice in the direction of mine and road was a taking thought. Just how that direction was to be exercised, however, was usually a matter left indefinite.

The miners and railway men came forward with their own plans, which were definite.

For State ownership of railways there is of course ample precedent, but operation by employees charged with the duties and responsibilities of directors and comptrollers is an untried plan. Since both the miners and the railway men propose compensation to present owners, with continuance of the wage system for the operatives, their outlook is for legitimate procedure, non-communistic ownership, and a form of operation in theory democratic.

The thunder of the big alliance artillery is accompanied by the crackling of rifle fire from scores of new labor associations in circles heretofore quite untouched with a spirit for united effort. In the following list of old and new organizations, holding meetings in London, are signs of the times:

The Police Union.
The National Joint Board of Retail News Agents.
The Middle Classes Union.
The Association of Wireless Telegraphists.
The Federation of Foremen.
The Protective Foremen's Association.
The Amalgamated Managers' and Foremen's Association.
The Farmers' Federated Association.
The Actors' Association.

The National Federation of Law Clerks.
The National Union of Organists' Associations.
The National Union of Journalists.
The National Union of Clerks.
The Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy.
The Association of Employment Exchange Officers.
The People's League.
The Society of Authors.
The Newspaper Clerks' Guild.
The Fishermen's Union.
The Union of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors.
The Shipping Clerical Staff Guild.
The National Federation of Discharged and Demobilized Sailors and Soldiers.
The Insurance Clerks' Union.
The Cable Telegraph Operators' Association.
The National Union of Colliery Clerks.
The Association of Farm Workers.

Among other routes toward an improved social system, many proposals are heard in England for cure or mitigation of landholding evils. There have been government commissions on the subject and recently numerous articles and letters in the press. The land question is being discussed with a better general knowledge and in the light of propositions more tolerant to present owners than has been the case during previous land agitations. It is to be noted that at its annual congress held last May the Land Nationalization Society assembled a greater

number of delegates, representing a longer list of organizations, than during its previous twenty years of existence. Its membership includes several hundred working-class societies. It proposes land nationalization through compensation, rejecting the methods of the single taxers.

The Labor Co-partnership Association has for nearly forty years promulgated a genuine principle of democratizing industry, in the sense of equalizing, so far as possible, powers and rewards. It combines an offshoot of the co-operative movement with an offshoot of the profit-sharing movement. It has long seen wage-workers representative of the profit sharers sitting among the directors of some of the largest gas companies in Britain. There are at present 38 gas companies sharing their profits with nearly 30,000 employees, to whom they have given more than $7,000,000 since adopting the method. At present the employees hold $4,500,000, or nearly 10 per cent, of the company shares. There are also among the co-operatives in Great Britain 68 co-partnership productive societies doing a business of more than $20,000,000 a year. Their largest business is in the textile. boot and shoe and printing trades.

No reference to British working-class effort in the pursuit of its own welfare would be complete without mention of the co-operative movement. It has now more than 1,300 distributive societies, with 3,500,000 members, and more than 100 productive and three wholesale societies. Its employees number at least 125,000, and the sum total of all the sales annually runs up to $1,000,000,000, from which its members are reimbursed nearly $100,000,000. The movement promotes voluntary co-operation and resists any legislative or administrative inequity which would hamper its progress. Its biggest aim is "that eventually the processes of production, distribution and exchange (including the land) shall be organized on co-operative lines in the interests of the whole community." The co-operative movement is now associated with the political labor movement and has a "platform" of eleven planks, the objects stated in the final paragraph being "the breaking down of the caste and class systems," and "the democratizing of State services—civil, commercial and diplomatic."

Indicative of the trend of British sentiment toward effort to improve the status of labor is the number of active mixed organizations for

the purpose which have recently come into existence.

The Industrial League, which took definite shape in the early days of the war, has much the same aims as The National Civic Federation. Its Secretary describes it as advocating the "pathways to industrial harmony." Its methods of propaganda include holding public meetings, supplying speakers for societies and associations, publishing a periodical and pamphlets and carrying on a systematic extension of its organization. On the list of its officials and most active members are a score of the best-known trade union representatives in England. While it has had other considerable donations, a subscription of £20,000 a few months ago placed it in a position for largely augmented endeavor.

The National Alliance of Employers and Employed, in existence three years, calls attention to "the broader and deeper questions concerning the relations of employers and employed." Its work largely runs parallel to that of the League and its ramifications extend to various parts of the kingdom. Its committees, national and local, are composed of an equal number of employers and trade unionists. Its membership is by organizations and not by individuals.

The alliance has a permanent active staff of officials, publishes a weekly periodical, "Unity," and strives to influence public opinion in the matter of wage schemes, housing reform, education and environment of the workers. It advocates joint action by employers and employees on these questions, rather than having them dealt with through party politics.

The Industrial Reconstruction Council, a third organization which brings together employer and employee, devotes itself to the one task of advocating the principles set forth by the Whitley Committee. It has been in existence nearly two years. It is a propagandist body and nothing else. The council officials deem maintaining a balance between employers and employees an unnecessary precaution in its administration. It invites professional people to take part in its work. It has held numerous meetings in the industrial centers of England and Scotland, promoting the plans set forth in the Whitley Report. In London it holds regular meetings for discussion on points connected with industrial administration. It is looked upon by trade associations and trade unions as one of the centers of advice on organization of Industrial Councils. As it has a constructive program to offer, it has been ap-

proved at the hundreds of lectures which it has given throughout the country.

The Federation of British Industries, representing 16,000 firms, is to-day placing itself before the British public with a new heart. The constituency of this Federation was some years before the war regarded as almost reactionary and as inimical to labor organizations. By its spokesmen it is now represented as having a "very great interest" in the National Alliance of Employers and Employed. Sir William Peat, at a special general meeting of the Federation, October 29, 1918, said:

> "That alliance speaks for itself in the duties it has performed and in the meetings that it has held, meetings that have been largely attended by labor; in the progress which has permeated, if I may say so, the views of labor to a very considerable extent, and has permeated the views of capital in the direction of co-operation between labor and capital."

Among the objects of the Federation of British Industries is:

> "The promotion and encouragement of free and unrestricted communication and discussion between masters and workmen with a view to the establishment of amicable arrangements and relations between masters and workmen and to the avoidance and settlement of strikes and all other forms of industrial warfare between masters and workmen."

The National Industrial Conference, treated by the press as marking the culminating point in the spirit of good-will now animating the British public, was promoted as early as last September by the National Alliance. In a letter signed by the latter's executive committee and widely published in the press, and in letters following from the same source, suggestion was made for the setting up of the necessary national machinery for preventing and settling industrial disputes. After the serious London "Tube" strike and the ballot of the miners on their proposed strike, a direct appeal for a conference was made by the alliance to the Prime Minister.

The proposition for a conference had meantime become popular, and it was called by the government for February 27. It was looked upon throughout the kingdom as "an event of first importance in the industrial history of the country." The attendance was of 400 representatives of employees and an equal number of employers. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Labor were present. A fair judgment of the outcome seems to have been given in the words of E. Manville, M. P., President, Associated Chambers of Commerce. He said, later: "The value of the conference did not lie in its

suggestions, but in the attitude of the leading men on both sides and the underlying spirit and sentiment of the majority of the listeners."

The conference provided for its future work in this resolution:

> "That this conference, being of the opinion that any preventable dislocation of industry is always to be deplored, and in the present critical period of reconstruction may be disastrous to the interests of the nation, and thinking that every effort should be made to remove legitimate grievances and promote harmony and good-will, resolves to appoint a joint committee consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers, men and women, together with a chairman appointed by the government, to consider and report to a further meeting of this conference on the causes of the present unrest, and the steps necessary to safeguard and promote the interests of employers, work-people and the State; and especially to consider: (1) Questions relating to hours, wages and general conditions of employment; (2) unemployment and its prevention and (3) the best method of promoting co-operation between capital and labor."

On March 26, the Provisional Joint Committee appointed by the conference issued its draft report (summarized by Mr. Nevin, pages 54 to 57, inclusive) on wages, hours, unemployment, methods of negotiation, etc., and providing for a National Industrial Council.

On April 4 the Industrial Conference considered the draft report at a morning session and after separate discussion of it in the afternoon by the trade unions' and the employers' representatives, the following resolution was passed in full session:

> "That this joint National Industrial Conference, representative of employers and trade unionists, welcomes the report of the Provisional Joint Committee, and agrees to submit it for the acceptance of its constituent organisations immediately the government officially declare their readiness to proceed at once with the legislative and other steps necessary to carry the report into effect; and that the Provisional Joint Committee remain in being until the National Industrial Council and the Standing Committee have been brought into operation."

On May 1, when the Provisional Joint Committee again met, it received a statement of the government's intentions as to its draft report, Lloyd George setting them forth in a formal letter, in which he said:

> "Though I cannot commit myself to every detail, as many of them are complex and technical, I may say at once that I fully accept in principle your recommendations as to the fixing of maximum hours and minimum rates of wages. As regards hours, a bill is now being drafted to give effect to your recommendations, and will, I hope, be introduced at a very early date.

"There are certain industries, such as agriculture, in which seasonal and other conditions necessitate special consideration; and some cases, such as those of seamen and domestic servants, in which it would be impossible to enforce a week of 48 hours; but I agree that the act should otherwise apply to all industries in which a legal limitation of hours is practicable, and that, where exceptions are necessary, they should be applied for by those concerned through the machinery which you have suggested in your report.

"As regards wages, I accept the principle that minimum rates of wages should in all industries be made applicable by law. The question of the best method of doing this, however, is complex and full of difficulties, and I do not think that it would be possible to frame legislation until a scheme for carrying out the principle of minimum rates has been fully worked out. I therefore gladly accept your suggestion that the Government should, in the first place, set up a commission with wide terms of reference to report on the whole matter. As regards the extension of the wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, a bill has been prepared for this purpose and has been introduced.

"In regard to unemployment, I understand that your committee was unable to make any definite recommendation as to how the present provision against unemployment should be extended, though they were unanimous in thinking extension necessary.

"I cordially welcome your proposal to set up a National Council."

The joint committee decided to give both sides an opportunity to consider separately and

jointly, if necessary, the government's reply and was to meet again at the call of its chairman. Thus the project stands at the present writing.

The creation of this National Industrial Conference, the representative character of its meetings, and the work laid out for it by its joint committee, give it an unprecedented place in British industrial history. Are the principles—and practice—of the "universal" minimum wage, a statutory forty-eight hour week, and an induced complete circle of organization of the employers and the employed in industry, really to be in theory generally acceptable and in practice carried out according to program? Is the place of high authority taken by the government in the matter valid for effective helpfulness, or will it be discovered that a nation's industry cannot be formed into a vast machine in that way and continue to be superintended by government agencies? Will the trade unions, will the employers, will the government, proceed with the venture beyond the first set of disadvantages to be developed in the working? How much of it all is words and how much fact?

The American answer to these doubting queries will probably be, "Let the British take

care of it. It is not our affair." In fact, that situation they are dealing with across the ocean does not exist in our country. Why? Again the reply must largely be, first, because of the substantiality of the American Federation of Labor and the trade agreements of its affiliated organizations with employers in almost every industry, and, secondly, because of the present endeavors of the country's few great non-union employers, under pressure from the Federation and the public—and their own conscience—to bring conditions in their employ up to a level approaching union provisions. Let any reader of these statements, with the list of the 112 general trade unions in the Federation before him, consider the significance of their various contracts with employers. Those contracts are mostly either national or in basic national terms; they represent in their present form the results of negotiations renewed year by year, in some cases for decades; each general union has its own model, modified continually to meet arising special requirements; every occupational organization having its own experiences, adaptations in contracts have been made to suit the composition of the union, as to the skill or other quality of the membership. As results, the representatives of employers and em-

ployed, for local union districts or for the whole country, to-day know one another's needs, arguments, spirit, and possible demands. Whether one studies the union of street-car employees or the union of electrical workers or the union of machinists, he can ask himself if any one of them would gain profit in the least were the provisions of the British National Industrial Conference established in the United States through the proffered offices of our government.

It would indeed be well if the promoters of things European in this country were first to try earnestly to understand certain things American. They seem, from their publications, to be perplexed and distressed at the line of progress of the American Federation of Labor. Having their preconceptions, its growth disappoints them; its general recognition as an American institution offends their Europeanism. Its refusal to grasp at the promises in foreign political palliatives misfits here, and its doggedness in going right on in its successful simple way vexes them. Its methods of rejecting unsolicited advice from pure theorists saddens them. Its determination to hold fast to the wage system is treason to the communistic commonwealth. Yet, if they could under-

stand the Federation and appreciate its work and methods, these critics might see why it is not, for example, seeking universal compulsory democracy in company with the employers, bound to them with bonds tied by the state.

Perhaps through association or reading, some of our American employers and professors and writers more or less interested in social questions know more about British labor and its distresses and of the remedies designed for its relief than they know of the labor situation in America. When they speak or write on American labor issues, or unions, or policies, or protective laws, it is with a British squint, believing that medicine good for the bull is good for the eagle. It is this class of men who do not know whether the American Federation of Labor represents one-tenth or one-half of the country's wage labor; they manifest no conception of the Federation's driving capacity in carrying out its purposes; they have no idea of the extent to which our industries have been beneficently affected by trade agreements. They would be amazed if they could be made aware of the changed attitude of American employers as a body toward trade unionism in recent years; they might become better Americans if they would pay as much attention to the

recorded achievements of the Federation as they do to the prophecies of what is to come—perhaps—through the half-launched much-talked-about reform-revolutionary projects in Great Britain.

V.

The Labor Situation in France.

The Commission was in Paris eighteen days —April 8-26. Three of its members have a working knowledge of French, on occasions an interpreter was employed and on others the persons interviewed spoke English. The writer, who has lived much in France, has read French labor journals and reports and French government publications for many years as a part of his work. The labor and political situation in France was not new ground to the investigators. The matter in hand was mainly to obtain answers to queries already in mind as to recent developments, if any there had been, in the relations of "capital and labor" which might be of profit in America. In this quest, it is to be said at once, nothing especially new was to be found.

The common interest of the French people in uniting during the war to fight for their national existence had already largely given way to the diversity of class and individual inter-

ests. In the great crisis the exceptional man not willing to join in the struggle had been brought to submission, but now obstruction to the government and propaganda for internationalism was popular politics with the Socialists and syndicalists. The emergencies of the war had given rise to special temporary measures for the employment, shelter, payment, feeding, and general care of employees in munition works and manufactories, but in April, apart from the government's eight-hour day and reconstruction methods of housing, neither employers nor the wage-workers seemed to have drawn therefrom any ideas of general application for permanent working class betterment or even for promoting a workable truce between the two sides of the labor question.

In the five months since the armistice most of the methods of organization and administration in practice during the war in private and government establishments producing war supplies became no longer operative. While some measures had been heroic, being military as to discipline and in every respect vigorously applied to the one purpose of saving France, they had brought to the country little in point of established industrial efficiency or even of improved sentiments between the buyers and sell-

ers of labor that were to be carried over to the times of peace.

There was emphatically nothing new in France in the sense either of a systematically improved relationship between the employer and employed classes or of the introduction of new social or governmental machinery to bring together practical and reasonable representatives for the common purposes of production, trade agreements or adjustment of differences. There was no National Industrial Conference or the like. It is to be added that there was, and is, but a feeble trade union movement, as the principle is understood in the United States.

By April, French politics and the "proletarian" movement had fallen back into the old ruts of agitation, with what pre-war pure trade union elements there had been weakened and the Socialist-syndicalist boisterous and defiant element in power at labor headquarters. The immediate tendencies of labor were toward extremes—the general strike in the industrial field and the overturning of the government through a series of crises in the parliamentary field.

The minds of the two sides in the wage and social conflict were concerned with social out-

bursts which might soon come. The representatives of capital were in a mood to defend all their rights stubbornly and to give no recognition to labor as it was organized. On both sides were preparations for ruthless collisions regarded as certainties. The break from the sharing of a common lot in the national terror during the war had been complete. The ugly struggle between the classes had been renewed. This being the general situation, the Commission's work necessarily became to observe its main features and on returning to America to await the outcome up to the time of making its report and then record the outstanding facts to date.

There is now an established intimate connection between the national, as well as the municipal and departmental, headquarters of the wage-earners "syndicates" and the central offices of the united Socialist organizations—those that are united. The Confédération Générale du Travail (the federation of the national and departmental federations of labor) is in political matters practically a unit with the "Socialist Party of France," in which most of the Socialist national organizations came to a working agreement on the invasion of the country. A fact generally understood in America,

there is such a variety of Socialist groups in France that any citizen moved by any degree of aversion to present social imperfections and having any notions of partial or complete nationalization of one thing or another can find congenial company in some one of the various groups of Socialists.

The methods and demands of the French wage-workers are to be comprehended only after one has some knowledge of their different forms of organization together with their attitude toward politics and "the social transformation." The general conception of what a labor movement ought to be is far different from that which guides the American Federation of Labor. The French movement has continually before it, not as a remote possibility, but as an impending revolutionary move, the abolition of the wage-system, to be initiated if necessary by means of the general strike. Those purposes immediately aimed at by the wage-workers of America usually outlined in the words "wages, hours and conditions" therefore become mere paltry palliatives, of doubtful efficacy and perhaps having maleficent possibilities in postponing the grand and beneficent revolution. Support for the national eight-hour day, legalized this year, was occasion for

propaganda. The advocates of a program for gradually correcting economic injustices and promoting social ameliorations under the wage system have lost strength in the movement in the course of years. They have been to an extent silenced or they have quit the party or the confederation.

The looseness and lack of unity or completeness in the syndicalist organizations operate against a clean and clear wages movement. Perhaps, also, prominent national characteristics are the prime cause in making the working class effort what it is. Looking to the government for help, for reform, for radical change, with fervent faith in its potency for social miracle working, is foremost among these characteristics when the French workers are viewed collectively. Striving persistently and patiently by practical measures for immediate trade union ends, with faith in the means, the union officials and the integrity and sustained effectiveness of the organization, and with reasonable satisfaction at the prospects of the gains thereby, is not in accordance with the temperament or teaching of the average French industrial wage-worker. But at the same time, awaiting the revolution, he is by habit capable individually of working hard and saving sous.

A call, well-nigh a crusade, for a form of help from the government twenty years ago brought about the establishments of the "Bourses du Travail," municipal buildings, established by the state, in which are labor exchanges (employment bureaus), halls for wage-workers' mass meetings, and offices for secretaries and other officials of labor "syndicates." (Any occupational organization, of employers or employees, by the way, is in France a "syndicate.") Being government buildings, officered by government employees (the Paris Bourse has forty), Bourses must of course be at the service of all wage-working citizens, organized or unorganized. Hence, in practice, a labor syndicate secretary may have no more than a skeleton organization without much of a treasury to hold him in place, but he can enjoy the privileges of office room and outfit and use of the local Bourse halls. This fact alone explains why quite invariably when a "demonstration" is to be made the secretary and his executive council invites the "non-syndiqués" (non-unionists) to join in with the unionists participating. It also explains why the dues in many organizations are absurdly low; if the benevolent government keeps the Bourse institution going, why should individuals, already

taxed by the government, pay dues also merely for the sake of the syndicate? The labor organization in France is rarely a stable mutual society as well, paying the series of benefits usual to British and American trade unions. The existence of the Bourse further explains why those strikes which are outbursts of the unorganized, blazing up for a brief season, and suddenly failing or unexpectedly winning, are common in Paris and other industrial centers, for the Bourses count up at least forty in France. Some of the large "militant" syndicates and a few of the solid old labor organizations have their offices elsewhere than in the Bourses. The central federation of the syndicates, the "C. G. T." (The Confédération Générale du Travail) was turned out of the Paris Bourse fifteen years ago. However, at its rather contracted headquarters, its own property, in a working-class quarter far from the heart of the city, the C. G. T. exercises an influence on the mass-meetings held in the Bourse as well as unlimited authority over those taking place in its own hall.

The C. G. T., it is to be observed, is a confederation, not only a federation of federations but of two kinds of federations. One class of its constituent federations is made up of na-

tional federations of crafts and the other of departmental federations of joint local organizations in and out of the Bourses. The departmental federation has for its main object propaganda, among other objects for "the social transformation." In these two kinds of federations are cross-currents involving duplication of membership, officials, aims and authority. Communications from the C. G. T. to its affiliated bodies are addressed to both the national and the departmental federations. At the C. G. T. conventions, votes are apportioned between the two bodies. In the constituency of the departmental federations are also two varieties of syndicates. The January number of the "Voice of the People" on this point said: "None of our confederal congresses has determined the function of these two organizations. To-day it is indispensable to take measures to put an end to this irregular situation, a source of numerous conflicts, the echoes of which reach each of our confederal assemblies."

Inquiry in April at headquarters brought the indefinite information that the total membership of the C. G. T. was "a million." There was no recent detailed statistical report on the subject; one was "in preparation." The distribution of cards and the sale of monthly

stamps for the period of a year might have served as an indication of the facts, but on those points the systematization of records was incomplete. At other centers of information estimates of the labor syndicalist members varied greatly. "Perhaps half a million" was the reply at a non-wage-workers' social institution. "A million and a half" an ardent Socialist representative said positively. The latter number is perhaps none too much if all the strikers and sympathizers joining in "manifestations" for a year are counted. But, if only the regulars with paid-up dues are to be reported, the syndicate body sadly shrivels. Certain it is, however, that as the series of big hall meetings, street demonstrations, and strikes of organized and unorganized have evolved as testimony to working-class unrest in the last three months, enumeration of the conscientious money contributors has been a secondary fact in those events to the ebullition of the dissatisfied. Regulated trade unionism is another matter, toward which the French worker is inattentive.

How the C. G. T. in its intentions goes in one leap far beyond trade union work and purpose, aiming direct for the immediate accomplishment of the coming perfect society, is to

be seen in the subjects of discussion at its conventions. On July 15, this year, a circular letter of inquiry was sent out from the C. G. T. headquarters to the national and departmental federations in which was stated the propositions which had come up from the syndicates for discussion at the congress of the Confederation to be held at Lyons, September 15-21. The organizations addressed were asked to vote for four of the subjects named, the choice of the majority to be placed at the head of the actual program. Following is the list as given in the circular. It shows the variety of notions, amid possibilities, entertained in the French syndicates—it would be an error of thought to classify them with the labor organizations of the United States by calling them trade unions:

Economic reconstruction.
General strikes and social transformation.
The high cost of living.
The "English week" (44 hours, Saturday half holiday).
Workers' pensions.
Education.
Wages taxation.
Foreign labor.
Working-class housing.
Minimum wage.
Compensation for accidents.

Public employment agencies.
Workshop hygiene.
Demobilization.
Amnesty (for pacifists, etc.).
Intervention in Russia.
International relations.
Labor laws for women and children.
Co-operative consumption and production.
Arbitration councils for occupational details (prud'homie).
Anti-militarism and disarmament.
Socialization of the means of production.
Nationalization.
Fusion of the syndicates with the Socialist party.
Abolition of piece-work.
The peace treaty.
Utilization of leisure time.
The fight against alcohol.

On July 24, a second circular named the four subjects chosen. They were:

Social and economic transformation.
Social laws (pensions, compensation for accidents, foreign labor, etc.).
Educational reform.
Organization of leisure, housing, hygiene, etc.

The confederal bureau announced that these subjects indicated "an elevation of spirit, ever growing greater, in the workers' movement." But, the Confederal Committee, a higher au-

thority, considering that many of the administrative commissions of departmental unions and federations were convoked for July 27, at which the four subjects to be preferred would be again discussed, had decided to leave the choice of the questions to them. It was evident, it was stated, that the first subject among the four given—the "social transformation"—would remain first choice and take up time in the Congress during several sessions. There would also be rather a long discussion of the actions of the C. G. T. committee on the cost of living, intervention in Russia, international relations, agrarian program, etc.

The strikes that took place in France in the course of the spring and summer, whatever their results otherwise, brought, if not the overthrow of the wage system, a revolution in the long fixed status of certain categories of wage and salary workers. It was unprecedented for the syndicated laborers to witness the bank clerks and insurance employees adopting their methods, occupying their meeting places, and actually winning strikes. Employers as a class were amazed at such walk-outs, joined in as they were by nearly all the class of employees interested, the more so as one of the accepted facts of French commercial life has immemo-

rially been the sheep-like docility of the counting-room desk man. Astonishment to the food and drink purveyors also came when in July the waiters of Paris in a body "took off their aprons" and won a three-days' strike. These were but a few of the more picturesque and curious wage disputes. There were numerous others, the most serious being those of the miners and the metal workers. Most of them brought to the fore the demand for the eight-hour day. The law was to give this to the workers August 1, but it became effective previously to those who took it in fear that their employers would find means of evading it.

The general level of wages now being called for is suggested in the proposed scales for several different classes of workers.

The police of Paris (July 20), asking for advanced salaries, named these figures: Post duty: Patrolmen, 5,730 to 7,230 francs per year; corporals, 7,530 to 8,130; sergeants, 8,530 to 9,330; lieutenants, captains, 9,730 to 10,230. Office duty: Lowest classification, 6,030 to 7,530 francs; next higher, 7,830 to 8,430; next, 8,730 to 9,750, and then 10,730 to 10,930. Counting department 5,530 to 10,930; Commissioners' secretaries, 7,730 to 11,730; suburban commissioners and justices of the peace, 11,730

to 18,000; commissioners of police in Paris, 14,000 to 18,000 francs. The titles, here given in English, approximate grades of the New York police. The organization of the systems of the two cities are different and the French titles—"brigadier," "inspector," "guardian," —are not self-explanatory. Comparisons of salaries, if attempted, must be carried out to include such points as outfitting the uniformed policemen in France, providing them with shelter and meals, and giving them certain privileges.

The Paris municipal clerical staff asked July 13 for a high-cost-of-living bonus of 1,460 francs, with a minimum daily pay of 17 francs. The City Council granted a base salary of 4,818 francs, to be advanced at the end of fifteen years to 5,614.

The daily press counting department clerks and circulation assistants asked for the eight hours on the English system, a minimum monthly salary of 420 francs for youths and deliverers, 450 for counting room clerks and 500 for cashiers and bookkeepers, with a reduction of 50 francs in each classification for women employees, and an annual vacation of two weeks with pay.

The Federation of the Port and Dock Work-

ers, at their convention July 11-13, decided to begin a national movement to establish a minimum wage of 20 francs for the eight-hour day.

The syndicate of the clerks of notaries, lawyers, and court officers, assembled at the labor Bourse of Paris, July 20, made public their demands. They had been receiving as monthly salaries: Messengers, 150 francs; ordinary clerks, 200; second clerks, 250; principal clerks, 350 to 400. The meeting decided on higher rates and on other demands: The salary of minor messengers, 175 francs; of major messengers, ordinary clerks and other office men and women, 400; second clerks, 500; principals, 700; the eight-hour day; a month to three months' notice to quit; a discipline council of three employers and three employees; three weeks' vacation with pay; pensions.

In July the Paris edition of the English "Daily Mail" printed the following table of prices for London and Paris, 1914 and 1919. The amounts are in francs and hundredths.

It may be assumed that the "Daily Mail" investigator of prices endeavored to give figures for articles of the same standard for the two dates and the two places. But it would appear that the qualities were higher than the run of the market for the items reported upon.

	Paris		London	
	1914	1919, July	1914	1919
Beef, pound	2.25	5.20	0.80	2.05
Chicken	1.65	9.35	1.45	3.30
Sugar	0.30	1.25	0.20	0.70
Turnips	0.10	0.65	0.10	0.30
Coffee	2.05	5.00	1.80	2.90
Butter	1.85	8.00	1.50	3.10
Bread, four pounds	0.90	1.00	0.55	0.95
Eggs, each	0.15	0.60	0.20	0.55
Beer, measure	0.20	1.00	0.30	0.85
Suit of men's clothes to measure	125.00	375.00	125.00	315.00
Men's shoes	25.00	75.00	31.25	71.60
Half-soling	5.60	13.00	5.00	10.60
Linen collar	0.85	1.90	1.00	1.45
Shirt, ordinary	10.60	25.00	10.60	19.40
Tailor-made dress (woman's)	175.00	500.00	157.50	315.00
Women's shoes	26.50	75.00	33.75	50.00
Linen stockings	3.00	9.35	3.00	4.90

The observations of members of this Commission would warrant cutting down the London quotations by 10 to 30 per cent and those of Paris by 10 to 50 per cent for fair average standards and qualities. Eggs and butter, for example, in April certainly ran 10 to 15 per cent below the prices given for both cities, while shoes and clothing, as marked in the windows of dependable houses, ran 30 to 50 per cent below. The one commodity, quoted correctly, regulated by law, that stood in both Britain and France at less than half the cost in America was bread, it being in both countries governed by a subsidy. In Paris, the working-class consumption of bread averages 50 to 60 per cent of all their food.

In the Socialist political movement the organization and methods are even more complex

than among the wage-workers as syndicated. In France, the Socialist characteristic of continuous, if not progressive, differentiation is not permitted to proceed to the point of extinction of the spirit or dissolution of the body. There is always strenuous endeavor on the part of the comrades for a recomposition of dissident parts on the basis of freedom of expression, within limits. Thought must be at liberty, with exceptions. But discipline as to action must be maintained always. The beginning of the war saw the formation of a "sacred union" in which all political parties promised to sink differences for the sake of France. Socialist leaders were permitted to take cabinet places; Socialist workers became fighting patriots. In the course of the war the Socialist deputies in the Chamber became increasingly obstructive critics of the government and since the armistice their efforts to throw Clemenceau out of power have been every-day matter for the press dispatches.

The war saw most of the Socialist-syndicalist and co-operative newspapers pass out of existence. By common agreement, the official support of these elements centered on "l'Humanité," the Socialist daily paper of Paris, which, while professing to support the war,

found reasons for endless carping at the methods of its prosecution and persisted in seeing as the one important and inevitable war that between "the classes."

Last year differences brought about a split, another one, among the conductors of the paper, and some of them took up with another Socialist organ, the "Proletarian." Exchanges of platform compliments between the leading editors of the two journals enlivened several party conventions. There was danger that differences as to theory, and on occasions as to action, would once more cause permanent harm to the party, when the French trait of consenting to agreement in spirit amid disagreement on almost everything else brought about recently sufficient unity among the literary Socialists to allow them to agree to address the world from the same platform, the editorial columns of "l'Humanité."

The issue of that journal July 21 announced under the heading "Our New Collaborators," that "certain modifications are to be introduced in the régime of the leading articles of the paper." "Every shade of the Socialist idea will naturally continue to be represented in that free tribune, the first column of our first page." By taking turns once a fortnight in-

stead of once a week, as theretofore, the new and the old collaborators, each over his signature, could "offer to the reader a greater variety of opinions." Of the editorial leader writers several were to be of the "majority" group of Socialists, the best known in America being Jean Longuet, who as a relative bears the mantle of Marx; four of the "minority," among them Albert Thomas and Pierre Renaudel; and two of the center, one of them Marcel Sembat. In the same announcement, it was stated that "qualified representatives of all the tendencies of the syndical movement" were also to be "grouped about" the paper. Eight names of syndicate secretaries were given, all Socialists. Further, desiring that "Humanité" should "become the common house where all the writers truly free and human" "could feel at their ease," the management were able to say that among the names of their literary contributors were to be some of the best known writers of France. A list of twelve was given. Anatole France led. Among the others was Henri Barbusse. The fame of the rest is not widespread this side the water.

The one principle above all others which no contributor to "l'Humanité" can be free to maintain is "the competitive system." All

supporters of that detested contrivance of evil are guilty of treason to the Socialist society of the future. Anathema, then, for the individuals and the political parties that fail to fight the horrors of our present social régime. No compromise—in times of peace—with the government that does not strive for its abolition. Outcasts are the political leaders, once Socialists, now sharing office with the bourgeoisie—Briand, Millerand, Viviani, Clemenceau himself. Tears for the *littérati* who have deserted the faithful. Touching are the words of Georges Chennivières in mentioning Maeterlinck, "who has left us." A small sad paragraph in "l'Humanité" last month mentioned Breshkovskaia, with "a revolutionary past eminently respectable," and Tchaikowski, "that other veteran of Russian revolutionary struggles," both now "in the camp of the partisans of Kolchak," the imperialist.

The Socialists of France turn out strong in hurrahing and voting—in 1913 the half dozen wings put altogether one hundred deputies in the Chamber—but they are wofully weak in paying party membership dues, a few cents a week. The total membership of the Socialist party was made public by its Secretary at its National Council session, July 13. Up to De-

cember 31 last, the number of membership cards delivered in 1918 was 35,793, for which 298,148 monthly stamps had been issued. This was a marked increase over 1915, when the membership had fallen below 20,000. In April, 1919, the figures had advanced to 57,000; on June 30, to 84,567, with 476,319 stamps delivered in the six months of the year. The Secretary hoped that at the end of this year there would be 125,000 paid up members. From the 1st to the 10th of July, 3,410 new cards had been issued.

One of the difficulties in tracing the mazes of French politics is presented in the titles of the party groups. They are curiously misleading. Where the American might expect from a title radicalism both in economics and politics, he will find the reverse. Where he would look for ardent Socialism, there is opposition to all Socialist parties. "L'Humanité" published July 20 the names of the 213 deputies who voted in support of Clemenceau on the previous Friday, when opposition to his Minister of Agriculture obtained 227 votes. The 213 were thus grouped: sixty-two Radical Socialists ("Radical" here signifies radicalism on the religious issues of ten to fifteen years ago, and the "Socialism" relates to an old-time fusion,

neither word applicable to present day principles or classifications); fourteen members of the Radical left, seven of the Radical Socialist Republican Union; twenty-six of the Republican left; four Republican Socialists; four of the Democratic left; four not registered in any group; forty-eight of the Republican-Democratic entente; ten of the right; fifteen of the Liberal Action; seventeen Independents. The reader can here catch a glimpse at the many sided meaning of the word "Socialist" in France. Few Frenchmen would be able to understand what the word signifies in this country when applied to any one of the Socialist groups here, and especially to the St. Louis resolution Socialists.

The co-operative movement—that of the distributive and productive societies—greatly strengthened during the war in the parts of France not invaded, and especially in Paris, is now mainly under Socialist domination. Seven years ago, the two wings, Socialists and non-Socialists, were merged for economy and unity of effort on a basis of freedom for all views, within bounds, but now the co-operative delegates sitting at Socialist conventions speak for their entire movement.

At a conference in Paris in the last week in June, the International Co-operative Alliance was attended by delegates from eighteen nations. The new republics formed from dismembered Russia—Finland, Lithuania, Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia itself—were represented. The co-operatives called it the real peace conference and decided to invite representation from all the belligerent countries to a meeting probably to be held next winter in Geneva. Among the proposals adopted was one to the effect that great international undertakings, such as the Channel and the Gibraltar-African coast tunnels, should be confided to co-operative enterprise.

The National Co-operative Federations of France published July 1 a program—in order to set right the many deputies of diverse parties who had assumed in the chamber the right to speak on the authority of the co-operatives. According to this program the State should assure by all means a larger quantity of the provisions necessary to life at a normal price; the State should itself liquidate all the stored army stocks; should re-establish the inter-allied purchasing committee; should reduce or suppress protective tariffs; should employ its own organizations in supplying raw materials for

oil, chocolate, soap, etc.; should exact declarations as to crops; should in case of necessity requisition the indispensable commodities to reduce prices or restore order in any branch of commerce; should set up departmental and communal food commissions; should publish the actual cost of food commodities as they pass from one class of dealers to another. Parliament should at once vote a credit of 25,000,000 francs for the establishment of popular restaurants. The French concept of the co-operative field is thus seen to be quite co-extensive with a form of Socialism.

"L'Humanité," in its reports of the C. G. T. and Socialist party proceedings, fuses the two movements in the one atmosphere of rebellion against intolerable social injustice, the cause of widespread misery. The "parasitic manufacturers" must be fought even when the employees are at work; "direct action independent of parliamentary procedure" is commendable; the Socialist party is "ever at the side of the C. G. T." in opposing the "reprisals, injuries, outrageous and menaces" of the bourgeois press; "detestable capitalism" is responsible for endless ills; the misdeeds of the government are "leading democracy to the abyss and France to ruin."

The maintenance of a continuous state of intense excitement over current or coming syndical or political events; the fanning of the flames of class hatred; the adventurous recklessness of sudden outbreaks; the alluring possibilities of colossal social changes; the joys of the heroic attitude; the theatricals of speechifying leadership; the lashing of the wicked political enemy—these properties outline the stock of the French radical show. It is a crackerjack of a show for short acts, with climaxes and moreover anti-climaxes galore. When the café waiters won in three days, the victory was amazingly brilliant. But when, after a month, the miners' strike obtained but few gains, offered at its origin by the bosses, there were no fireworks. One of the mine-workers' leaders, reviewing the lessons of this strike, wrote reflectively: "Opportunity, co-ordination, discipline and resistance are the elements of success for a general strike of an organization." "Not to count on outside help, and to estimate fully the adversary's means of resistance are the elements of wisdom in such matters." "Pressing need is the excuse of those who went out before the hour." The metal-workers of Paris and the adjoining Seine department also had a strike, which lasted the

month of June. It was then called off. On reporting for work, the leaders of some of the larger works were discharged without mercy. The Socialist press rang with impotent protests against the outrage. But from the point of view of American trade unionism, the strike was inadvisable. Instead of first making reasonably sure of being able to finance it, like any other enterprise, the syndicate was from the beginning calling for aid. For this and other current strikes the Union of the Syndicates of the Seine had been maintaining soup kitchens, having credit at the co-operative stores, to which an indebtedness was run up of "several hundred thousand francs." To help discharge this debt all union members in the Seine department were asked to buy indemnity cards at one franc each.

The rearrangement of the world being the Socialist mission, both the French Socialist party and the C. G. T. named delegates, two each, to the British labor conference at Southport, June 26-7. One of the resolutions passed there embodied a protest against intervention of the Allies in Russia. This move gave the French fire-eaters a desired opportunity for the propaganda of internationalism. The Southport congress having recommended a

general working-class demonstration on that score July 20-21, the Socialists and syndicates in all parts of France where they have organizations were soon in a fury of preparation for a general strike of twenty-four hours on those dates, thus going the English extremists one better in the way of the proposed demonstration. Not a day passed but "l'Humanité" had its announcements, proclamations and exhortations relative to the shock that the workers were to give all society by this signal showing of their irresistible strength. The Seine Federation of Syndicates swelled up in its sense of power. It voted rejection of the peace treaty; it decided that its members should not join in the victory celebration Bastile day, July 14. The way that numerous syndicates and federations throughout France were declaring—in "l'Humanité" columns—that on July 20-21 was to take place the real post-war demonstration of the discontented masses was wonderfully encouraging to uninquiring and impulsive laborers if not very alarming to the French public in general, who know Socialist tactics. The administrative commission of the C. G. T. on July 3 began formidable arrangements for the demonstration. One day it was the garment workers, the teamsters and the transport men who

"sent in their adherence," on another it was the sailors and the postmen; then the metal-workers, the building trades, the pressmen; day by day a bit of the panorama was turned on to keep up the excitement. One of the French delegates to Southport, in an interview, declared that while he could not say that the British workers would actually strike on the given dates their demonstration would be, for either twenty-four or forty-eight hours, "a movement without limit." The Socialist delegate to Southport from Italy assured the French proletariat as he stopped over a day in Paris that he was to begin preparations at once for the 20th-21st in his own country. Several pronunciamentos, couched in language as elevated as the magnificent project, were issued by the C. G. T. officials, the secretary's name leading. A big heading on the first page of the paper, July 3, gave assurances of the impending "Franco-Italo-English" joint action. "A general demonstration of the working class is going to be made in order to demonstrate the will of the workers to prevent the governments from attempting throughout Europe a policy of reaction." On July 18 the "final dispositions for 'the grand offensive' of the 20th-21st were published. The General Committee asked the

syndicates and the international committees not to hold any reunions on the great day or to make any other manifestation. Cards commemorative of the cessation of work were to be distributed all the day. "It is enough for the people to fold their arms to show how formidable they are." The bourgeoisie were surely in a state of panic. All of the working classes with one accord were to respond to the appeal of their organizations. "Opponents could spend millions in public notices, could multiply their intrigues and intimidations, but the French proletariat would be idle next Monday."

But—on the 19th the C. G. T. announced that the manifestation was postponed. What was that something that had happened at the last moment to cause this decision? It proved to be a political event among the deputies of about as much relevancy to international trade unionism as criticism of Mr. Burleson. By a vote of 227 against 213 the Chamber had decided that the Minister of Agriculture ought to retire from his place. "L'Humanité" itself reported that the question was not one of confidence or lack of confidence in the entire administration. It quoted the Minister of Agriculture as saying after the event: "The vote of the Chamber does not reach the government, it only reaches

the Minister of Agriculture. I alone am beaten." And such was the case. Four days afterward, on the question of confidence, the Clemenceau administration was held safe in power.

As to the epochal demonstration, in Great Britain it had never been seriously considered much less voted on by the trade unions. In Italy it turned out an utter failure. The National Committee of the C. G. T., in extraordinary session the 21st and 22d, after "two great days of discussion, of questions and explanations," passed numerous resolutions relating to the glorious future and "the civilizing mission" of the C. G. T. That was all.

If any object favorable to the working classes was achieved in the course of this ponderously farcical affair and its woful anti-climax, it has never been made evident. Its official promoters seemed satisfied to cover up their retreat with grand words and sounding resolutions. They could hardly have strengthened their syndicates much by the move. A childish move it was, and in the case of organizations having agreements with employers dishonorable. The whole syndicate movement had been subordinated to paltry political tactics of the hour. If the respect of employers is desirable to wage-

workers, what can be said for the policy of this act? If recruits were wanted from among the sensible and capable workers of all occupations in the country, how could they be attracted by such a record of bluff and failure?

If the French syndicate-Socialist movement is to be tested by the practical principles which have strengthened the American Federation of Labor, its successive acts during the last four months have demonstrated incompetent leadership and a poorly organized following. The generalship which permitted the outbreak on the first of May, when several hundred citizens and policemen were wounded, was of a poor character unless the settled enmity of the police and the opposition of the general public are desirable. The persistent attempts in "l'Humanité" to show the Bolsheviki administration in Russia as conducive to the happiness of the masses and as encouraging to science and education are curiously in contradiction of common testimony on the subject. The strenuous opposition to the covenant of peace and the League of Nations by the National Committees of the C. G. T. and the Socialist Party on the score of ineffective internationalism is difficult of explanation when it is considered that the first aim of these bodies should be to attract a ma-

jority of the voters of France. The decision to oppose the victory celebration, the ridiculing of the marshals and generals fresh from the field of battle, the sneering at the patriotism of the masses who greeted the march of the allied troops on Bastile day—such acts can be interpreted only as consequences of adopting crazy theories or unwisely supporting wild extremists or politicians of unworthy ambitions and dubious practices.

A regrettable feature of the labor situation in France is the present attitude of employers toward all working-class movements. In general, so far as possible they avoid having anything to do with organized workers. They may be inclined, many of them, to deal fairly or even generously, from their point of view, with their own employees. There are cases of profit sharing, pensioning, or rewarding merit or long service in addition to wages. There are employers' societies which study the needs of the workers as a class and as citizens of France. But for the mixed politico-labor organization not the least good feeling is ordinarily shown.

"Capital and labor" in France are suffering from the vicious circle of mutual antagonisms, recriminations, and readiness to quarrel and to depict each the execrably mean and wicked

character of the other side. The situation somewhat resembles that in America thirty years ago. Certainly, present C. G. T. "literature" has the verbal resonance of the Knights of Labor pronunciamentos of the '80s. But the knights taught dependence on education in civics and on the ballot to bring to the masses their emancipation, a word much employed in those days. The French Socialists look forward, and not very far forward, to a revolution bringing a complete new State-managed cooperative society. To-day they have the syndicates reduced to the position of mere auxiliaries. The leaders of the syndicates have not had the capacity to discriminate among the huge mix of proposals for the workers' betterment and select those which could be of substantial and permanent help and to give to these an effective support. They have ignored the assistance which might come from a press and public if not friendly at least as just as men usually are in dealing with questions of general import and moral significance to the nation. They are misled by the sounding repetition of their own exalted professions and inmostly a poor miscellany of familiar diatribe tentions. Their propaganda pamphlets are and confident prophecy, a record of small do-

ings and magnificent resolutions, and, unconsciously to the writers, a massing of testimony to the effect that they are not conducting a movement for the best good of the workers or of the country.

VI.

The Economic Status of Working-Women in Great Britain.

The purpose of this chapter being to present to American readers an accurate statement of the conditions bearing especially on woman's life in Great Britain, the testimony offered is, with one or two exceptions, from British sources, mainly official and trade union reports. The matter has been brought together by selection and compilation. Much of it is in the language of the original documents, with modifications in abridgment.

In the United Kingdom, at the outbreak of the war, in a population officially estimated at 46,000,000, females outnumbered males by 1,300,000. At the close of the war the excess of females was estimated to be at least 2,000,000.

In the classification of women workers, the largest number are, of course, the housewives,

and working-class housing is essentially a woman's question.

A precise and striking description of British working-class dwelling houses is given in Mr. Bemis' chapter on housing.[1] A perusal of the passage would at this point enable the reader to bring to mind necessary ground-work information on the subject.

The unsatisfactory condition of working-class housing, as regards both quality and quantity, in town and country alike, is realised on all hands.[2] This problem, though accentuated by causes arising out of the war, existed even before the war in an acute form. Nearly half the population of England and Wales (48.2 per cent) before the war were living in houses with more than one person per room. There were 39.1 per cent of the population housed in tenements with over one but not more than two persons per room, while one in eleven of the population (9.1 per cent) were crowded more than two in a room. Scottish returns are even more serious. In Scotland, 43.6 of the population were in 1911 living more than two in a room, over a fifth (21.1 per cent) more than three in a room, while one in every twelve (8.3 per cent) were more than four in a room. The majority of the people are badly housed. Even

the best type of workman's dwelling is only too often inconvenient in its arrangement and lacking in reasonable accommodation. In the older houses, which so large a proportion of the working population inhabit, there is little privacy and comfort. Home-life, in consequence, must suffer. A Birmingham cabinet-maker says: "We are not housed. There are only sleeping and eating compartments. Usually everything has to be done in one room, especially in winter, as the expense of keeping more than one room warmed could not be considered."

Bad as may be the effects of present housing conditions for the man, they are worse for the woman, since she has to endure them the whole day long. It is often overlooked that the housewife engaged in domestic duties is in some ways one of the worst sufferers from long hours of work, and is consequently largely debarred from participation in educational and social amenities. The housewife more than any other member of the family determines the nature of the home. On the other hand, her influence is to a considerable degree determined by the character of the house in which she spends so great a part of her time. Lack of sufficient accommodation for the members of the family,

ill-lighted rooms, and the absence of proper domestic facilities must necessarily react upon the housekeeper, whilst the dull and dingy street, which more often than not bounds her horizon, must tend to narrow her vision and her interests. The cares and responsibilities of domestic life, the never-ending round of duties, the cramped environment, have only too frequently converted the housewife into a drudge and established the tradition that interests outside the home are no concern of the working woman.

In some districts—e. g., agricultural and certain mining areas—the burden of the housewife is increased by the system under which she is often virtually compelled, or any rate expected, to provide for a lodger or lodgers. Where the shift system prevails, and to a less degree in the case of workers employed at irregular hours, the dislocation of domestic life, the duplication of meals, etc., add to the labors and anxieties of the housekeeper. Where any of the members of the household are engaged in occupations such as mining, working in clay, etc., there is more than ordinary need for adequate bathing provision, failing which the woman of the house is often put to considerable inconvenience. Her difficulties are aggravated

by the present cramped, ill-arranged houses, built without thought of convenience, and innocent of labor-saving devices. The wretched surroundings so damp a man's aspirations that his whole outlook is dull and sordid. He becomes attuned to his fate, which is to exist as well as he can, to indulge in the handiest diversions—and these are not very intellectual. A certain amount of privacy and seclusion is necessary if a student is to read, to write essays, and generally to follow up a course of study or engage in any intellectual pursuit. In a workman's cottage, with its one living-room in which all the domestic activities take place, and which is usually the dining and sitting room as well, such privacy and quiet are impossible until the other members of the household have retired to rest.

Before the Coal Commission, May 30, a miner's wife stated that as a social worker she had taken great interest in the housing question. Describing conditions in the Wigan district she said: "There were a large number of back-to-back houses with no water supply, no washboilers, and from which all ashes and refuse had to be carried a considerable distance. The rent received for such houses was considerably greater than that from an ordi-

nary four-roomed house. A house with one living room had to make it serve for cooking and dining room. A family of from two to six sons, along with the father, came home from work. After they had had their meal, they took off their pit clothes and washed. There were no facilities such as hot water. The usual procedure was a small pan heated on the fire; each had to wash in his turn, and sometimes before the water was ready some had gone to sleep, they were so tired. Could they have had a bath before their meal they would have been refreshed and able to enjoy a walk afterward."

Another miner's wife living in Lanark testified: "Most of the houses in my district are owned by private individuals, and they have a great lack of sanitary accommodations. Not one per cent of the houses have bath rooms. It is almost impossible for a miner to save sufficient to build his own house. I and my husband have only been able to pay rent and feed and clothe the children. It is exceedingly bad for children where clothes have to be dried in the single-apartment houses. The children have nowhere to play except in the streets."

In a pamphlet, "Baths at the Pithead and the Works," published by the Women's Labor League, officially indorsed by the Miners' Fed-

eration of Great Britain, Robert Smillie, the President of the Federation, writes of his own experience: "I myself have been one of seven persons, five adults and two pit lads, juveniles, who have had to wash in a small kitchen, one little tub serving all of us as our only bath, and a change of water only taking place when that remaining in the tub would not any longer serve its purpose of removing dirt, but was more likely to act as a paint and cover the skin with some inky-coloured matter. I have seen the sick mother, or little children under the care of the doctor, living in the compartment where this 'bathing' operation required to be done, and where the foul smelling pit clothes had to be dried before the common fire. I have been told by medical men that in many of our miners' houses in Scotland, serious and even minor operations which had to be performed in the homes became a very difficult matter, because of the poisonous fumes from germ-laden pit clothes dried in the house. I have been assured that many deaths have occurred which, in all probability, could be traced to the impossibility of keeping wounds clean because of the surroundings, traceable chiefly to the presence of the pit clothes."

The Health of Munition Workers Committee

were informed by a representative of the National Federation of Blast Furnacemen that not more than 5 per cent of the members of his union have a house with five or six rooms and a bath. "In Lancashire and South Yorkshire many are living in houses of three small rooms with no scullery."

Where the bath is downstairs, even on modern estates, it is frequently placed in the scullery; no partition is provided, although the scullery itself may serve as a passage-way.[3] In many cases hot water has to be carried by hand from the copper or range; in some instances no waste or supply pipe is fitted, making the filling and emptying of the bath so laborious that it is seldom used. When the bath is placed in the scullery, lack of space leads to the using of the bath itself for storage, or loading the hinged table usually fixed over the bath, so that one or the other must be cleared before the bath can be used. When, as often happens, two or three members of the family are employed on different working shifts, the bath may be required at any hour, and the housewife may need the scullery at the same time for preparing a meal. In the majority of cases the scullery is the only passage-way from living room to back door, larder and other offices.

The extra time, trouble, and expense involved when water must be heated in kettles, and carried to the bath, wash tub or sink is a serious addition to the housewife's burden. A great part of the everyday work of the house, as well as the laundry work, is doubled by the lack of a proper supply of hot water. The extra strain on the woman's strength, coupled with the waste of time, leaves her without either the opportunity or energy to attend to other household tasks or to secure any form of recreation for herself.

The housewife's struggles with adverse conditions only begin with bad housing. The question of food for her family, second in order to shelter, is most difficult. The Ministry of Labor was reported in the House of Commons, April 29, using a schedule of articles estimated to represent approximately the average consumption of a working-class family in 1914, as placing the increase over July, 1915, at 94 per cent in April, 1917, at 106 per cent in November, 1917, at 106 per cent in April, 1918, and 133 per cent in November, 1918. The estimate for April 1 of this year is 113 per cent above July, 1914. This assumes that the family budget has remained unchanged both as to articles and as to quantities.

Estimates published in the July, 1919, "Monthly Labor Bulletin," quoting from foreign sources, are that in Great Britain the average cost of 21 foodstuffs, as ascertained in 600 towns and "weighted," advanced from July, 1914, to March, 1919, 120 per cent. In the United States, in the same period, 32 foodstuffs as sold in 35 American cities and "weighted" advanced 72 per cent.

Much comment was started in England early this year by the publication in the London "Times" of the plaint of the wife of a "poor curate" who gave many particulars of the burdens, financial and otherwise, of her "job." She wrote: "How best can he plan his family budget so as to avoid debt? Take a stipend of £200 as example (this is more than many have). Rent takes £32, rates and taxes about £15. Food, laundry (done at home), household extras, wear and tear of household goods, for four people, at 10s. per head a week, account for £104. Insurance, £12. Coal and light, £12. £25 is left for clothes (boots and shoes are the heaviest expenditure here), holidays, wages, doctor and dentist, stamps, small personal and parochial expenses, and almsgiving! It is scarcely possible to spend less on the food and household expenses than 10s. a week with the present prices

ruling. Only by very careful planning is it possible to keep within this limit. The actual amount spent on food alone works out at rather over 3½d. a meal per head; and one may guess to provide a plentiful, appetizing and satisfying meal for that figure is 'some job,' as the saying goes."

But it is not only the prices of food which the housewife is required to watch constantly, but adulteration, which is a serious evil in Great Britain. The food officials find themselves obliged to allow many forms of the evil to flourish unchecked, although perfectly well aware of what is going on.[4] Milk, for example, is diluted or "toned down" to a point about the quality demanded by regulations. In more than 50,000 samples analyzed in 1913, more than 10 per cent were not up to the minimum standard of the law. Besides adulteration, milk as usually delivered is liable to contamination with dirt, or infected with micro-organisms at various stages in its passage from the cow to the consumer. Something like 10 per cent of the samples examined are found to contain the bacilli of tuberculosis. The law is inadequate to prevent adulteration. The expert of a subcommittee of the City Council of Manchester on milk reported that 39 per cent of the milk

supplied to the Manchester hospitals, where special precautions are no doubt taken, and where the higher degree of purity is of special importance, is, according to United States standards, that used for manufacturing and cooking purposes. Cream has even a worse record than milk. Of 1,026 samples analyzed in 1913, 410 were found to contain a preservative which in all but four samples consisted of boric acid. As to purity, of 21,932 samples, 1,131 were condemned. Substitution of margarine for butter is done by one method by filling the center of a roll of butter with the margarine, so that the sample cut off from the end by the inspector may be found pretty genuine. Other articles of food frequently adulterated are: flour, coffee, cocoa, sugar, confectionery, jam, rice, sago, potted meats and fish, and sausages. Dishonest retailers sell genuine articles to strange customers lest they be food inspectors. The uncertainty of magisterial decisions in cases of food adulteration brought before them reacts upon the food inspectors, who cease to take samples when they know it will be almost impossible to obtain conviction for an offense. One of the largest firms of caterers in England was fined the maximum amount for supplying unsound meat to the troops. A manufacturer

of confectionery was found deliberately using unsound jam and other articles. A large proportion of artificial foods for infants contain high percentages of starch and a very low percentage of fats. Such foods are unsuitable for young infants and are liable to cause serious illness, but are nevertheless boomed by advertisements often little short of fraudulent. Infant mortality runs highest in industrial towns and lowest in rural districts. The deaths under one year of age per thousand births in Ireland range from 38 in Roscommon to 60 in Mayo. In 25 industrial towns of England and Wales the range is from 122 in Bradford to 184 in Ashton-under-Lyne. In the central parts of London the range is from 120 to 140. The maternity benefit has failed to reduce mortality among mothers.

By their system of naming the market classification of meats, British retailers designate the poorest as "American." Of all the meats in England, 41 per cent is wholesaled at Smithfield market in London. A large proportion of it is sold by the great Chicago firms, dealing in meats from various parts of the world, especially Argentine. The better qualities are called by the retailers "British grown," from which the stock is graded downward to the

worst, which consumers are told is "American."

In order to understand the attitude of the British nation toward drink, the American must give some study to the water supply in Great Britain. Why are English working-men defenders of the beer drinking habit? Why at hotels and restaurants do guests almost invariably demand malt liquors or wines or bottled waters? Why are public drinking fountains rare? Why, when the American asks for water in a public dining room, does the waiter in turn inquire, "What kind?" Why, when water from the tap is supplied, is it seldom drinkable?

The fundamental reason in reply to these questions is given in the nature of the water from pipe supplies in England, more than 50 per cent of which is derived from chalky subsurface formations, and is therefore insipid and otherwise unpalatable. The comparatively mild winters of England not requiring deep ditching for water pipes to prevent freezing, their shallow earth covering does not cool the water as in American water supplies. Further, it being to the interests of the publicans to sell liquors, they never recommend water, so that there is a general impression in many English

communities that the local water supply is unwholesome. Finally, in general the climate of England is relaxing, and as a consequence the multitude feel a craving for at least a mild stimulant. The latter fact alone would to an extent explain the English tea habit. The number of places vending drinks throughout Great Britain is to Americans astonishing. The United Kingdom consumes more than one hundred quarts of beer per person per year.

Next after housewives, the most numerous class of working women are household servants. In 1911 the total number of women employed in the United Kingdom was nearly 6,000,000. Of these there were in domestic service about 1,750,000.

The Women's Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Reconstruction, in a report published March, 1919, described employment, organization and conditions of domestic service. The report traced the reluctance of women to enter domestic service to three principal causes: the loss of social standing, long hours of duty and lack of companionship. "The fact cannot be denied that domestic workers are regarded by other workers as belonging to a lower social status." Other deterrents were

the custom in England of addressing domestic workers by their christian name or surname, and the attitude of the press and stage, which often represent servants as comic or flippant characters and hold them up to ridicule. Inefficient and untrained women easily get situations and as readily leave them. Except among the lowest classes of domestic workers wages include cost of maintenance, and have been for many years higher than those of clerks, shop assistants and factory employees. They continue to rise. Cooks and housemaids are often unwilling or unable to interchange work. For remedies the report recommended for small towns a local center of social and other clubs. In larger centers the local education authority should arrange for theoretical training. In the domestic service club there should be opportunities for society and amusement, music and general education, and there should be "hostels" in which domestic workers could live during education or between engagements or when "living out." The report suggested a substantial reduction in the length of the servants' working day, definite time allowances for meals and outings, the latter to comprise a half-day every Sunday, and one afternoon and evening each week. The

servants' food should be good and varied, but not necessarily the same as that of the "masters." Caps should be done away with in many instances. Written references should be compulsory, and should deal with fact rather than opinion. Antiquated house-planning should be done away with, and all possible labor-saving devices used. The grouping of households is advocated, with a common center for food, heating and hot water. The employment of outside workers for the small household is recommended.

The Mabys (Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants) thus describes the advantages of domestic service: "No rent to pay. No food to buy. No washing to pay for. A good bedroom and comfortable home. Good healthy conditions. A cheap way of learning a highly skilled trade leading to high wages. The best training for managing your own home when you marry. There is no overcrowding, and by living at her situation a girl leaves more room for the younger children at home; it is the only work in which a girl can maintain herself entirely from the day she leaves school."

A woman correspondent, writing of domestic service in the "Times," remarked: "It was

once said by a male philosopher that all servants were fools because no one but a fool would be a servant. The servants of the present day are certainly not fools, and those of the future will be even less so, and the less foolish they are the less chance any one other than a wealthy employer will have of securing their services. During the war those employers with private farms or opportunities of securing extra food were in the fortunate position of securing the services of as many servants as they needed. In some houses it is no secret that there were two meat meals a day, and even wine was added to the menu below-stairs. The service in such households was always faultless, but the professional man's wife was at the same time doing her own work and eking out a poor menu on her coupons. Servants are and have been extraordinarily self-protective, and have no instincts for a lean life."

A curious point made by a woman's committee is the fact that the servant's christian name being used by the mistress lowers her social status, and that in business houses this is not done. But presumably, as the maid addresses the mistress as "ma'am" for brevity, the mistress addresses the maid as "Susan" or "Anne," or "Jones" or "Smith" for a like

reason. In many dressmaking houses the juniors are similarly addressed, and the shop-assistant answers to her surname for similar reasons of brevity. "Too much stress appears to be laid on this point of dignity. Food, wages, and outings are far and away the most important problems from the servants' point of view."

The London "Times" has the following: "Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the altered conditions of domestic service, among women especially, is that the change has been brought about by themselves, without adventitious aids of close organization or of outside support. Our servant girls have no trade union or other form of combination. No political party takes them up as it does their fathers and brothers, in order to gain votes. No Parliament discusses the number of hours that they shall work, or other conditions of their service; no orator in search of a seat denounces their downtrodden condition with lavish promises of relief. Each girl who goes out into service fights for her own hand, asks what wages she thinks she can get, demands such privileges as she considers her due; and if she is dissatisfied, or thinks that she can better herself, throws up her place and moves on to another."

It is an error to suppose that in all grades of domestic service there is shortage in Great Britain. The employment exchanges in May showed ten charwomen as seeking work to one vacancy, and there was almost the same preponderance of day girl workers. There was a surplus of women seeking hotel service. In the West Midlands, Yorkshire, Northern, and Ireland divisions, the supply of resident servants on the registers of the exchanges is greater than the demand. The number of women entered on the live register as domestic servants has been inflated recently by the transfer of women to their pre-war occupations, many of them perhaps not now so well fitted for such work after the greater freedom of the munition factories.

The Women's Advisory Committee thus pictures a prevailing condition in England: "Domestic workers will not take pleasure in their work as long as much of it consists in constantly carrying by hand for unnecessary distances, often up and down stairs, considerable weights of water, food, and fuel; of tending heating and cooking apparatus undesirably wasteful of labor; and of the larger cleaning processes which could be better effected by outside workers furnished with mechanical appliances."

Miss Clementina Black's remedy for this state of affairs is: "The best way of economizing service would be for a group of householders to establish a common center for buying, preparing, and distributing food and for providing central heating and hot water. The economies that would result from such combination, and the great reduction of service required in each private house would, besides increasing comfort in other ways, enable every household not only to have all the service needed, but to have it of a much higher and more efficient type than at present."

The maid of the future will not be content to answer bells all day long for trivial requests, such as putting fuel on the fire or fetching a book from the other side of the room—services so petty that (excepting in illness) they degrade both receiver and giver.[5] On the other hand, if domestic service is to take its proper place among professions open to women the workers must be shown that there is nothing menial in necessary household duties, and now is the time to begin.

"Might not women start now by a complete reconstruction of home life in which servants will be treated more as partners and less as machines? Conferences will probably be ar-

ranged in the near future to be held at regular intervals between representatives of employers and servants; but, in addition, much can be done privately by mistresses consulting their maids upon any change of work or of household arrangements. Servants greatly appreciate permission to 'do their work in their own way,' and provided the work is carried out satisfactorily it is far better to leave the manner to them. Maids, except in the lowest class, have for many years been relatively better off than clerks, shop-assistants and factory hands. Girls are as a rule far better fed in private houses than in lodgings. They are on the spot for their work, instead of having to turn out in all weathers and often in the very early mornings to reach their place of employment. When they are ill, they are almost sure of their board and lodging, besides continuing to draw their monthly pay, and generally at least a little nursing and attendance are given. If a girl is a daily worker and lives out, she must pay for all this herself or more often go without it. It is doubtful if trade unions in their present form would help our problem much. Every household has its own needs and customs, different from every other. What succeeds in a unified trade where many thousands are work-

ing under almost precisely the same conditions is useless to individualists, as we British all are in our homes. In many ways a trade union would be as irksome to the maid as to the mistress. It might impair the happy relations still so much more common between them than some newspaper controversies would suggest."

In the past the lot of domestic servants as a class has been far from satisfactory. Their work is irregular and generally spread over the greater part of the waking hours. There is often, therefore, little freedom and leisure, especially where a servant is alone in a household, and in such case she may live in an undesirable isolation.

Up to April 30 the Ministry of Labor administration had suspended 22,000 girls from the unemployment donation for refusal to take domestic service. The decision in 17,000 of these cases had been upheld by referees. The Department had placed in domestic, hotel or similar service more than 66,000 persons.

Here are examples of wages for domestic service in England, as seen in April in the advertising columns of the London "Times": An experienced or "superior" housekeeper is offered yearly wages from £36 to £50, and under exceptional circumstances, in a very large household

(10 servants) or in an apartment house, as much as £60. A working cook-housekeeper is offered in several instances £1 weekly; a good plain cook from £36 to £50 a year. Some advertisements call for "mother and daughter," wages together, £50; "mother and daughter, or two sisters," together, £70. One advertisement gives: cook, £40; parlormaid, £36; housemaid, £32; between maid, £24. Many advertisements are for parlormaids, from £28 to £36; occasionally one is called for at £40, but this sum is more likely for an "upper housemaid." Under housemaids are to receive £30 or less, the lowest, £22; general maids, £30 to £40; nurses, £30 to £40. For governesses with a knowledge of music, French and some Latin, the salaries mentioned are from £75 to £120. Some are offered less. Inducements are offered to maids. Households "requiring" servants mention only two or three in the family, with usually from four to six servants. One reads, "two in family, five maids including kitchen maid;" "two in family, six maids;" "four in family, seven servants;" and "four in family, nine servants." With two or three maids, outside help is in many cases mentioned. Some advertisements call for "ladies," despite the caste system in England; one asks for "three ladies"

to do the work of a household in the country. Ages required range from 20 to 40 years, for kitchen maid or housekeeper. "Outings," referred to as "good" and sometimes as "liberal," figure in many advertisements. One advertiser offers outings every other day and holidays three times a year. Houses are described as "easily worked," "all rooms light," "electric light," "constant hot water," "no nursery or school room." Maids are promised separate bedrooms in some houses. One advertisement offers "every modern convenience and modern range." Other attractions are "no basement," "no stairway," "house near station, buses and trams," "a boy for boots, coals and knives," "a woman or a gardener is kept for the heavy work." Here is an occasional type of advertisement: "Parlormaid, wages from £35 to £45; experienced, good carver; tall, smart in appearance; five maids kept, and man weekly for silver cleaning; house newly cleaned and decorated; cook, £35 to £50." References are still required in many cases.

The Kingston Labor Advisory Committee adopted as a scale of minimum yearly wages: Girls of 18 and upward (general servants), £20; experienced, £24; cook-generals, £26; housemaids, £22; house-parlormaids, £28; cooks, £30;

girls of 16 and 17 (under-servants), £14 to £17. Leisure should be: Two consecutive hours daily, irrespective of meal times (half an hour each for breakfast and tea, and one hour for dinner); a weekly half-holiday and part time Sundays; one whole day a month, and one week's holiday for each completed six months of service, with full wages. Minimum wages for daily domestic workers: Girls of 18 and upward, 3s. 6d., with meals; under 18, 2s. 6d.

In New York, by comparison, the scale of wages for domestic servants in September, 1919, may be inferred from "help wanted" advertisements in the daily press: Working housekeeper, $40 a month with small personal laundry; working housekeeper, $10 a week, hours 9 to 5; general houseworker, no washing, family 2, $50 a month; houseworker, general work, three adults in the family, no laundry work, $45; houseworker, general, good plain cook, $55; houseworker, cooking, no laundry work, small house, $50. These quotations would indicate that the money wages for women servants in New York are at least double the wages in London.

The extent to which developments during the war have permanently changed the status of

woman as wage-worker and citizen is as yet an unsolved question. An outstanding feature of the war was the extent to which women were drawn upon to do work hitherto the almost exclusive sphere of men. A report by the Industrial (War Inquiries) Department of the Board of Trade upon the state of employment in industrial and other occupations in the United Kingdom in July, 1918, as compared with July, 1914, and the corresponding months of the intervening years, shows that in the occupations with which it deals 1,659,000 more women were employed in July, 1918, than in July, 1914. The number employed before the war was 3,276,000, and the increase was therefore 50.6 per cent. It should be observed that the pre-war figures do not include women engaged in domestic service or in very small workshops and workrooms in the dressmaking trade. It is estimated that the displacement from these two spheres of employment taken together amounted to 400,000 women, who, though they appear in the report as an addition, were employed in various capacities before the war. On the other hand, there had been a great number of women, concerning whom no figures appear in the report, who before the war were practically unemployed but who have

since been doing domestic work in their own homes and other unpaid work. As men were more drastically called up, so the rate of increase in women employed tended to grow. It is perhaps rather surprising that the number of women employed in industries—other than government establishments—had not increased by more than 25.9 per cent. The number in July, 1914, was 2,176,000; by July, 1918, it showed an increase of no more than 565,000. This is explained when one examines the individual trades. Before the war very large numbers of women were employed in the textile, clothing, and paper and printing trades, and in all these trades there was a falling off in employment. In government establishments (arsenals, dockyards and national factories) the increase has been enormous, not less than 10,100 per cent. In July, 1914, the number of women in these establishments was not much in excess of 2,000; by July, 1918, it had risen to 224,000. In the Post Office the women doubled in numbers, and in other branches of the civil service they advanced from 5,500 to 107,500, an increase of 1,950 per cent. In the tramway street-car service (under local authorities) there was an increase in numbers from 1,200 to 18,000 (1,500 per cent). In finance and banking there was a

jump from 9,500 before the war to 65,000 in July, 1918, or 687 per cent.

One net result of the war movements in employment was the outward flow of male labor toward the navy and army, and the inward flow of male labor from various sources, compared with the very important inward flow of women's labor, which, however, was not as great as the inflow of male labor. In the period dealt with —July, 1914, to July, 1918—the net influx of males into the occupations covered by the report being 2,366,000, or 17 per cent of the total numbers, male and female, employed in July, 1914, while the net influx of females was 1,659,000, or 12 per cent. These two together made the total net influx 4,025,000, or 29 per cent. The loss by enlistment was 4,896,000, or 35.3 per cent of the total number, male and female, employed before the war. Consequently the replacements went a long way towards cancelling the enlistments, and the net reduction in persons employed became 871,000, or 6.3 per cent.

The "Final Report" of the Health of Munition Workers Committee, 1918, made general observations on the outcome of the employment of women in the manufacture of munitions during the war. Probably the most striking fea-

ture was the universal character of the women's response to the country's call for their help. Of equal social and industrial significance was the extension of the employment of married women, the increased occupation of young girls, and the revival of the employment of women at night. The munition workers included dressmakers, laundry workers, textile workers, domestic servants, clerical workers, shop assistants, university and art students, women and girls of every social grade and of no previous wage-earning experience; also, in large numbers, wives and widows of soldiers, many married women who had retired altogether from industrial life, and many again who had never entered it. In considering the physical ability of a woman successfully to withstand the fatigue consequent upon continued heavy work in a factory it had to be remembered that her body is physiologically different from, and less strongly built than, that of a man; that her muscular system is less developed; and that she may have lived a sedentary or domestic life without contracting the habit of taking active and regular exercise. The nature of her work therefore had to be determined with due regard to its effect on her immediate and future

health. The imperative necessity of war revived, after almost a century of disuse, the night employment of women in factories, with its associated economic, physical and moral disabilities. In a working-class home, however, the difficulty in obtaining rest by day was great; quiet could not be easily secured; and the mother of a family could not sleep while the claims of children and home were pressing upon her; the younger unmarried women were tempted to take the daylight hours for amusement or shopping; moreover, sleep was often interrupted in order that the mid-day meal might be shared. In practically all factories where night shifts were worked it was customary to change the shifts weekly or fortnightly. The frequent change of shift proved more convenient and acceptable to the women than more prolonged periods of night or day duty. It was far from uncommon to find some two or three hours spent on the journey each way to work, generally under the fatiguing conditions of an overcrowded train or tram, often with long waits, and a severe struggle before even standing room could be obtained. Often far from offering a rest from the fatigue of the day, the home conditions offered but fresh

aggravation. A day begun at 4 or even 3:30 a. m. for work at 6 a. m. followed by fourteen hours in the factory, and another two or two and a half hours on the journey back, ended at 10 or 10:30 p. m., in a home or lodging where the prevailing degree of overcrowding precluded possibility of comfortable rest. Beds were never empty and rooms never aired, for in a badly crowded district the beds, like the occupants, were organised in day and night shifts. In such conditions of confusion, pressure and overcrowding, home had no existence. Even though the excessive hours worked at the beginning of the war had in 1918 been reduced, it was still permissible for women to work 60 hours a week irrespective of pauses and meal times. This usually meant in practice two 12-hour shifts with no Sunday day work. In many factories working the two-shift system the hours were somewhat less than this (55 or 57½) and a half-holiday was given on Saturday. A 12-hour shift meant in practice 13-14 hours away from home. Transit and housing difficulties pressed hardly upon women and much of their fatigue was certainly due to conditions incidental to factory life rather than to the nature of the work itself. The waiting in

all weathers for the often crowded tram or train, the struggle for a place, the frequent obligation to stand for part or the whole of the journey, fatiguing to men, was usually far more so to women. Most men had few if any duties once free of the factory. Practically all women returned home to some work, which varied from their personal washing and mending to the care of a house and family. It is this combination of home and factory duties which bore so hardly on the women. The double strain of industrial and domestic work leaves little time for relaxation.

The outlook for women in British industries is the subject of a report issued the present year by the Home Office. The "Monthly Labor Review" has the following summary: The new work done by women is divided according to its nature into five groups—management, supervision, scientific work, process work, and laboring, both indoors and out. In management there was less substitution of women for men than in the other groups, partly owing to the fact that there was at the outset no supply of trained women fit to take command. In the government munition factories, where women were carefully trained, there were some re-

markable instances of women charged with the full management of shell, cartridge, and filling work. In the non-munition factories, under private management, women reached such posts more slowly, but before the end of the war they were holding them in numerous industries. Reports that women were serving successfully as managers or assistant managers were received from twenty-one industries, ranging from general engineering to brewing. In addition, it is known that there has been considerable substitution of women for men managers in steam laundries and clothing factories, and a considerable number of women superintendents and heads of labor bureaus in large works are acting practically as assistant managers in the matter of engaging, allocating, and dismissing labor. How far these managerial positions will remain open to women in peace times cannot be forecast, but it is believed that some at least of these will provide opportunities for women after the war. In supervisory work there was at first the same difficulty as in the case of managers—there was a lack of sufficiently trained women for the posts, but the drawback was more easily overcome. Contrary to expectation, it was found that women worked better

and got on more easily under other women than under men, and the employment of forewomen has been increasingly common. In scientific work it is believed that women have secured a permanent footing. In process work it was found that women could be successfully employed on many of the heavier processes formerly considered suitable only for men. Their work in skilled processes had not been carried so far as in the munition factories, possibly because less provision for their training was made in the non-munition factories. The question of the retention of women in the new occupations in which they have made good depends largely upon the attitude of trade-unions. In the engineering trades, there was a definite promise on the part of the government that the suspension of trade-union restrictions which made possible the introduction of women should be only for the duration of the war, and that on the coming of peace the old conditions should be restored. This, however, would affect only the government and munition factories. But in many of the non-munition industries agreements were made between employers' associations and the unions relating to the employment of women, in which definite

stipulations were made as to the processes in which they might be substituted, and permitting their work in these occupations only so long as there would be a scarcity of suitable male labor. In other industries women came in without any agreements having been made concerning them. The situation, therefore, is a complicated one, with the outcome depending to a considerable degree upon the attitude taken by the trade-unions. The substitution of women for men in laboring work was general and continued up to November, 1918.

During the war women's auxiliaries performed work much of which had formerly been left to men. The W. A. A. C. auxiliary (Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps) performed every kind of noncombatant employment usually undertaken by soldiers—cooks, clerks, tailors, shoe-makers, and telephone and postal, and motor transport service women. The majority were skilled workers. The Navy and Army Canteen Board, the Women's Royal Naval Service, the Women's Royal Flying Corps, the Women's Legion, the Women's Land Army, the Women's Police, the Women Drivers of the Royal Mails, were the principal women's war organizations. Professions there-

tofore left to men were opened to women, among them architecture and dentistry. At the other extreme in the occupations, women are now employed by Borough Councils as ash-cart drivers.

The entrance of middle-class women in the munition factories, where the proportion was comparatively small, broke down the artificial social barrier separating the classes into brain and muscle workers, and introduced superior standards of health and comfort. "More than once, defective sanitary arrangements or similar abuses have been remedied by the firm owing to the spontaneous indignation and outspoken remonstrance of a middle-class woman." Since the war the educated woman of robust and enterprising character has shown little or no inclination to remain in industry, except as forewoman or supervisor or as a skilled worker in a trade offering opportunity for talent and intelligence and high wages.

Married women holding on to positions acquired during the war are criticized by self-sustaining working women. The positions being retained are well paid, many of them having been secured through influence and not through merit. "Greediness and self-impor-

tance are apparently the real motives for the retention of positions to which these women have now no right," is the form of complaint. Educated women seeking positions are finding a great slump in salaries. Women's clubs for various callings have recently been in process of formation. The Efficiency Club for Business and Professional Women is one which is to bring two classes of women earners in touch with one another. London has in Highgate a social center for domestic servants. "Tea, music, magazines, stationery, sewing machines, entertainments and classes in physical training" are among the attractions.

Justice Darling, at the Central Criminal Court, London, remarked in May last when reference had been made by an attorney to the relaxation of public morals: "The harm that the war has done to the morals of the people of this country is far beyond any material damage that has been caused. In nothing has it done more harm than in that relaxation on the part of women of the country, which has now reached a point where it is impossible to walk along the street without seeing that they differ from what their mothers were."

Never was woman's health more the subject of study than during the war. Women are now beginning to realise that a heavy day's work in a factory under discipline and in touch with the rhythm of machinery requires a better and more substantial dietary than miscellaneous work at home.[6] Most working women have never acquired the habit of taking solid and regular meals, partly because when food is not abundant the woman goes short rather than the man, partly because women as a whole have never commanded sufficiently good wages to enable them to purchase adequate food as well as the various other articles, necessaries or luxuries, which they also desire. "The bread and butter and tea dietary is practically a thing of the past as far as munition workers are concerned, though the evidence from one factory visited indicates clearly the disadvantages to health of unsuitable food. This is due to the higher wages which allow better food to be bought, to the increased appetite and desire for solid food following upon regular work under fairly good conditions of hygiene, and to the growing taste for the substantial middle-day meal in place of sandwiches brought from home and supplemented by sweets, pastry,

tinned pineapple, etc., from the cantine. The increase in the number of well-equipped and managed cantines and the daily object lesson of cheap, appetising meals, nicely served, are gradually promoting a habit of eating well which has undoubtedly saved many women from unnecessary fatigue and physical disability or breakdown. Sweets, pastry, etc., are popular, as they always will be. Taken in excess by themselves and instead of proper food they are unwholesome in many ways. It is quite another matter when they are eaten as part of a full, well-proportioned dietary. The custom of drinking tea frequently is widespread, but as the tea is almost always freshly made it probably does little if any harm, and it forms the best and most acceptable stimulant for the tired worker."

Dr. W. J. Howarth, medical officer of health for the City of London, speaking at the Royal Sanitary Institute Conference in March, 1919, said: "The meagreness and bad nutritive quality of the meals taken by girl workers during office hours must be obvious to anyone who visits a London tea shop at the luncheon hour. Girls working in government offices during the war were well fed at the cantines, where soups,

fish, beef, mutton, bacon, ham, vegetables, and puddings were provided daily at moderate prices. But it is to be feared that the majority of the girls have returned to their unreflecting custom, so common before the war, of taking for their lunch day by day nothing but coffee, and a roll and butter, with a piece of cake, perhaps, and of following up this unsuitable fare after a brief interval by an equally inadequate afternoon tea." Mr. Charles E. Hecht, honorable secretary to the National Food Reform Association, in conversation agreed that this was not the diet upon which to rear an imperial race, and that its continuance was a national reproach. "Reform," he added, "is, however, no easy matter. It involves more extended, attractive, and well-balanced menus at restaurants; and cookery demonstrations on thoroughly practical and popular lines, as well as lectures on food and hygiene at girls' and women's clubs."

In the London County Council the Labor Party members recently introduced this resolution: "That in view of the high nervous strain imposed on the children of the working class during the war, and their diminished vitality arising from the shortage of food and its lack

of variety, which, added to the normal conditions of social inferiority borne by the workers' children, has greatly reduced the stamina of the school population in the county of London, it be referred to the Education Committee to advise the council at the next meeting of the council as to the steps necessary for the purpose of securing that all children attending the council's elementary schools shall have a holiday of one month at the seaside or in the country without charge to the parents, which would assist in such cases as that of the 'poor curate.' "

In Great Britain during the first few months of the war, almost 50 per cent of employed women were thrown out of work or placed on short time. But afterward, unemployment for women was almost at zero during the war. The urgent demand resulted in a large increase in the number of part-time workers.

Men found re-employment in the spring of 1919 much more quickly than women. Approximately 80 per cent of the service men who had returned had already been absorbed in industry in April, but 485,000 women were drawing the out-of-work donation. There were several reasons why women remained unemployed.

Many were the wives or widows of soldiers. The wives, expecting their husbands home, were unwilling to go to places far away from their homes or which would involve special training. Many of the women had little skill in the occupations in which they were engaged before they transferred to the munition factories. It was found that many seeking situations as dressmakers were only learners before the war, and that they had forgotten the little they had learned. Another matter which had to be faced is that women and girls who had worked in the well-equipped establishments built during the war had grown accustomed to the softening of industrial conditions by welfare schemes. They now miss in the older type of factory the rest-rooms, cantines and cloak-rooms which were at their disposal in the munition works. There can be little doubt that in future employers who wish to make use of women's labor will have to realize that women must be properly treated, that adequate accommodation for meals must be provided, and that conditions generally must be improved.

Complaint was made after the armistice that scores and scores of nurses who had served from the outbreak of the war, and gone through

the horrors of Gallipoli and Mesopotamia, and who had been torpedoed and ship-wrecked or bombed at casualty stations, were being unjustly "kicked out" of the service.

To a proposal for national factories, for the production of things already made by private enterprise, Mr. Bonar Law explained to a deputation of women the difficulties of the government, and said that the tendency with national factories would be to put one lot of workers in employment and throw another lot out. One of the women delegates said "it would be worth while to run factories where women could be employed even at a loss if they were successful in improving the health and physique of the people, and making life easier and happier."

Some observations founded on experience were given at a meeting of the women's branch of the Training Department, Ministry of Labor, by Miss Lillian Barker, welfare superintendent at Woolwich Arsenal during the war. A mistake made by people who knew little of labor difficulties was to imagine that because 20,000 women were unemployed, and 20,000 positions were vacant, a solution of this unemployment was found. There might be in the clothing trades a demand for operatives, while none of

the unemployed women were operatives. Vocational training was for the purpose of training women willing to work into employable workers for women's employments. Many women had lost their fear of machinery, another speaker said, during the war, and would be glad to go into textile factories, although previously they had despised the factory girl.

In March, to a deputation of the National Federation of Women Workers, the Minister of Labor explained that it was not the government policy to compel women, under penalty of having their unemployment bonuses stopped, to accept "sweated" rates of wages where wages had been fixed. Under the Trades Boards Act no person was deprived of benefit by refusing to accept lower wages.

The total number of persons drawing the out-of-work donation reached the highest point May 2, 1,093,400; of this number 422,890 were women, and 29,242 girls, civilians; 403,467 were demobilized members of the forces, of whom 1,316 were women. The number in receipt of the donation steadily declined to July 25, when it was 540,884, of whom 72,813 were women and 5,354 girls, civilians. But the number of women

demobilized from the national forces on the donation had increased to 2,206.

With respect to the talk about abuses of the donation, Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labor, stated in the House of Commons that the amount of abuse was very greatly exaggerated. He had constantly asked in the House for specific instances. He had received not more than ten. There had been a great deal of unwarranted talk in the matter, one firm saying it wanted something like 5,000 people but could not get them, not because there were not thousands of skilled workers in the town, but simply because they would not work, preferring to continue their holiday on government pay. On inquiry he had found that this criticism was not justified, and he believed that if half the reports were probed they would be found to have just as little foundation. The firm in question required only very highly skilled people, and not 1,000 of them. Out of fifty sent by the labor exchange, only fourteen had been engaged.

The general factory class situation in England when a family is out of work may be inferred from conditions in the textile mill towns in the north. Generally the whole working family goes to the mill—father, mother and all

the children above the elementary school age. Two or three or even four persons in the home have been entitled to the out-of-work donation. In a family having three children, one a weaver over 15 years of age, the father's donation was 29s., the mother's 25s. and the oldest son's 14s. 6d., while for the younger children each would have an allowance of 6s., making a total of £3 14s. 6d. This would bring the family's earnings to about the pre-war level, with of course as to commodities only half the purchasing power.

The War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, May, 1919, reported that before the war an employer would have had no difficulty in obtaining woman labor in certain manufacturing districts for eight or nine shillings a week. In 1912, the average earning for adult, employed, manual working women, working throughout the year, was 10s. 10½d. per week, as against 25s. 9d. for men. Women were paid at lower rates than men because of the conventional view that women "ought not to work" and "that a woman's work is incidental and temporary and not to be treated seriously even by herself," her real vocation being marriage. The war altered all that. In the metal trades by the end of 1918, the women's average earn-

ings were practically trebled; in the whole field of industry the average was nearer 35s. than 30s. weekly and many women, such as those engaged on skilled men's work in engineering, omnibus conductors and gas workers, earned over 60s. The report expressed the opinion that women who had been earning an average of 35s. a week would assuredly not be content to return to the pre-war rate of 10s. 10½d.

The range at present of the earnings of wage-working women in general may be inferred from the figures of particular occupations as given in the British "Labour Gazette," April, June, July, 1919. Boot and shoe trades, women of 20 years and over, 30s. per week; under 20 years, from 15s. at 16 years to 26s. at 19. In Ireland, minimum for 20 years and over, 30s. per week, and under 20 years to begin at 12s. at 16 and rise to 24s. at 19. At Sheffield, in the furniture trades, women upholsteresses, etc., 9¾d. per hour; cabinet case trade, minimum 10s. at 14 years, rising to 30s. at 21. For Great Britain, cocoa and chocolate, 12s. at 15 years, rising to 30s. at 18 and over. Leicestershire, Yorkshire and Worcestershire, elastic webb manufacture, 16s. at 14 years, rising to 32s. at 20 years and over. The laundry trade board

of Great Britain in July issued a notice of proposal to fix a general minimum time rate of wages for female workers of the age of 18 and upward, 26s. for week not exceeding 48 hours; piece work not less than 34s.; in no case, less than 24s. at the age of 18. In the textile trades there had been a reduction in hours, 55½ to 48, with a general advance in hourly and piece rates. In the clothing trades a minimum of 30s. had been established for women.

By comparison, New York wages: Telephone operators, $12 a week during instruction, $21 maximum for regular positions. Switchboard operators, $10 to $15 a week. Nurse, undergraduate, room, board and $40 a month. Bindery worker, $20 a week of 48 hours. Secretary, A. B. degree desirable, 30 years of age, $20 a week. Secretary, first class, experienced, $125 a month. Stenographers, from $16 to $22 a week, according to years of experience and amount of education. Clerks, $12 to $15 a week. Work in a beauty parlor, hours 9 to 6, $18 a week.

In May a scheme of increased pay for six of the leading London hospitals came into operation: Assistant matron, £100-120; sister housekeeper and nurses' home sister, £70-100; night

superintendent, £70-90; sister of the out-patient department, £75-100; sister-tutor, £70-90; sister of the electro-therapeutic department, £100-150; ward sisters, £50-80; staff nurses, £35; probationers, third year, £25; second year, £20; first year, £15, with uniform and laundry.

With the extension of the franchise to some six millions of women, for both parliamentary and local government purposes it is to be expected that in future women should take a much larger interest and a more active part in public affairs; and that as a result they will to a much greater extent than in the past turn to the acquisition of knowledge to fit themselves for the exercise of their new responsibilities. For many women, under present conditions, it will not be possible to find time for these new interests, as even under good conditions household duties, especially if there is a family of young children, are exacting. But there is a growing number of women's organizations having the object of promoting women's interests. In 1916 there was formed the Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations. It consisted of delegates from the National Federation of Women Workers, the Railway Women's Guild,

the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Labor League and the Woman's Trade Union League. In 1918 the Women's Labor League withdrew. The foremost object of the joint committee is to keep a register of women suitable for membership of any local or central committee set up by the government or other official body for administrative work. Other objects are: a joint policy for industrial women, and publicity for any subject of national importance on which combined action by industrial women would be beneficial. The committee, in close touch with the Labor Party, has assisted in placing representatives on various organizations connected with the government. An active group of women is reported in the women's section of the Labor Research Department. The Women's Co-operative Guild has a membership of 27,000. There are 136 women on the management committees of 88 co-operative societies, and 469 on the education committees of 161 societies. There are hundreds of guilds women serving on various public committees. In June the Local Government Board, as the result of an inquiry, reported it as "likely that a basis for a strong case for mothers' pensions would be made out." Children

under the present system are being sent to work too soon. A pamphlet had been printed relative to the working of mothers' pensions in the United States. The principal argument in favor of mothers' pensions was that the mother, if fit, is the best person to take care of her own children, and that separation should not be made on account of poverty.

NOTES.

1. Albert Farwell Bemis, "Housing and Agricultural Reconstruction in Great Britain and France."
2. Committee on Adult Education, Ministry of Reconstruction.
3. Women's Housing Sub-Committee, 1918.
4. William A. Brend, "Health and the State."
5. Domestic Service; Reconstruction Problems.
6. Health of Munition Workers Committee. Final Report.

VII.

"Equal Pay for Equal Work."

The agitation in Great Britain for "equal pay for equal work" regardless of sex has brought out unexpected arguments on both sides. The foremost general facts are: on piece work there has usually been little difference in prices in single establishments under trade-union rules, but in establishments employing only women piece rates tend to the minimum. On day work women have usually been paid less than men. In 1916, when women's pay for the lowest class was 4s. below the men's scale, the General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, Mr. J. H. Thomas, said, "It must be recognized that women have come to stay, and they must therefore receive equal pay for equal work." A Civil Service Committee gave the opinion that equal pay does not necessarily mean paying the men's rate to the women: it may mean paying the women's rate to the men, in which case the women would probably tend to oust the men. The 1911 census showed 3,-

787 women employed on the railroads as clerks, collectors, ticket examiners, etc. Early in 1915 the companies were employing women on a large scale as clerks, bookkeepers, ticket collectors, carriage cleaners, porteresses, luggage handlers, engine cleaners and station masters. In 1916 there were 1,000 women engine cleaners, but no engineers or firemen. In 1916 there were 14,000 women employed on railway clerical work. Through the efforts of the Railway Clerks' Association, now numbering 80,000, many women clerks were organized, and were given a bonus of 5s. per week where other railway women were getting but 3s. The railway women clerks, however, were in very few cases receiving the minimum rate of the male workers they had replaced.

The organizations affiliated to the General Federation of Trade Unions (1,200,000 members) embrace those wholly or mainly composed of women, those with a fair percentage of women, and those which consist wholly of men. These organizations unanimously demand equal pay for equal work. Some obtain this in fact, others obtain it nominally, and there are cases where an equal rate is not obtained. In one case—that of the Card and Blowing Room

Operatives—an arrangement exists which involves the payment by the employer of the full men's rate for all work performed. An agreement is then reached between the union and the women employed by which any balance between the sum paid by the employer and the wage paid to the women goes to the man or men whose earnings might be affected by the women's introduction. Discussion with the Management Committee of the Federation led to clearly defined differentiation between equal pay for equal work and equal pay for equal time. No one supported the suggestion that a woman should be paid equal rates merely because she works equal time.

From the United States Labor Department Employers' Industrial Commission comes this statement: "Some of the labor leaders themselves, and especially labor men who are now working for the government, call attention to the fact that equal pay for equal work on the part of women should properly mean equal pay for equal value; that therefore women need not draw the same pay per hour as men; as otherwise women when not capable of delivering equal value would be crowded out of employment."

The War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry reported that war conditions proved that properly nourished women have a much greater reserve of energy than they have usually been credited with, and that under suitable conditions they can properly and advantageously be employed in more arduous occupations than was considered desirable before the war, even when these involve considerable activity, physical strength, exposure to the weather, etc. Light, sedentary occupations are not necessarily healthy ones. But if women are to do men's work there must be what the report calls 'equal pay for equal work,' or 'pay in proportion to efficient output.' The committee seemed inclined to believe that equal pay may lead employers to give the preference to men over women because of the latter's physical disabilities. If women were paid less than men their underselling of masculine labor would compel the trade unions, in self-defence, to bar the way which the committee were anxious to open to them.

Working class men in general in England frequently manifest opposition to women luxury-earners who are not bread-winners. A man worker is quoted as saying, in a working-

class paper: "These girls don't seem to realise that when they take their wages they spend them on one person, while a man who has a wife and family will manage to make the wages go round and keep three or four people. They don't seem to see that what they spend on blouses and frills after they have paid for their board and lodgings would be spent by that man on food for other people."

The Dock, Wharf and General Workers' Union, at their biennial conference in July passed this resolution: "This conference condemns the action of employers in continuing the employment of female labor in industries considered more suitable to the engagement of male labor. And in view of the many thousands now unable to obtain employment we call upon the Ministry of Labor to use their influence in bringing pressure upon employers to have this anomaly removed."

The "Memorandum on the Industrial Situation After the War," issued by the Garton Foundation, has these observations on equal pay: "The wages paid to women for 'women's work' in the past [in industry] have been about one-half the wages paid to men for 'men's work,' and this disproportion was maintained

in some cases even where women and men were engaged on the same job. The formula now current among women workers is one of 'equal pay for equal work.' If this means equal pay for the same job irrespective of economic value, it can only lead to women being excluded from all jobs for the performance of which men are better endowed, and their relegation to particular kinds of lower-paid employment. If it means equal pay for the same output the tendency will be the same, by reason of the discontinuity of women's service as compared with men's, and their lower measure of reserve capacity. 'Equal pay for equal economic value' is a firmer though less easily estimated basis for a world in which competition is still a prevailing force. It falls a long way short of the current formula, and it flouts one of the basic principles of trade unionism, but it has the advantage of being workable, and it is a great improvement on past practice. While the industrial employment of an increasing number of women cannot be regarded without misgivings, any suggestion that the remedy is to make industrial employment unattractive by keeping women's wages low is not to be entertained. To regard the womanhood of the country as a

mere reservoir of untapped labor-power is altogether to misapprehend the nature of national life; but women who from necessity or choice become breadwinners are entitled to receive the full value of their services, and any attempt to discriminate unfairly against them is economically and socially injurious both in itself and in its reactions upon the general level of wages."

Discussion of the Women's Emancipation Bill in April brought out in Parliament women's civic and economic claims to the fullest limits. A member echoed a general sentiment in saying, "Personally, I am in favor of opening the ranks of every profession for women free from restraints on the basis of equal pay for equal output." In reply another member said that the government was of the opinion that the bill as presented, while aiming at giving women equal rights with men would in fact give them considerably wider electoral powers than men had today. One speaker regarded it as most inconsistent to allow a man to vote at 21 and a woman not until she was 30. "At present it is possible for a girl to contract a valid marriage at the age of 12 years, whereas a man must wait until he is

14. A girl at the age of 17 contemplating marriage can make a settlement of her real and personal property; a man cannot do so until he is 20." Another speaker believed that as girls matured more quickly than boys, a woman of 21 was able to take a sounder view of many matters than a man of 21. Still another speaker asked whether women were voting on equal terms with men in trade unions. Would a trade union permit a woman to take a man's job? He had seen some of the biggest rows owing to the attempt to put a woman on a man's job, and although her fellow workers tolerated her, she was not officially tolerated. "Until the trade unions recognize women on equal terms with men in labor, it is not fair to come to the House and talk about the complete emancipation of women." He hoped the day was coming when women would be recognized legally and permitted to do the same work and receive the same pay as men. Dr. Addison, President of the Local Government Board, speaking for the government, said he was sorry to say that it would not undertake to carry out any extension of the franchise. He recognized that the provisions that women might hold civil and judicial office and sit and vote in the House of Lords

were in line with pledges given at the general election. He was in cordial agreement with the principle that women should have the same opportunities as men in making a livelihood. A labor member, Dr. Addison continued, said women would never be allowed in the steel smelters' union, and that remark knocked the bottom out of the whole thing. The government could not support the principle unless occupations were thrown open to women all around whether in professions or trades.

A Cabinet Committee on women's wages reporting in May considered the problem of the meaning to be given to the principle, "equal pay for equal work." The majority of the committee said equal pay for equal output or equal efficiency would give men and women on the same work equal piece rates, but in most cases differential time rates. The onus should lie on the employer of proving that a woman is less efficient than a man, and entitled only to proportionately lower time rate. Mrs. Sidney Webb, in a minority report, described the trade union interpretation of the principle of equal pay, according to which women should receive the same time rates as well as the same piece rates as men on similar work. The ground on

which the majority rejected the trade union claim is that it would tend to the exclusion of women from many of the better-paid occupations, employers preferring men to women. Mrs. Webb pointed out that she did not regard this necessarily as a bad thing. A segregation of sexes and a division of the field of labor between them is rather to be sought than avoided; since the special capacities of the sexes are presumably different, the adaptation of the work to the capacity requires some such division. From some trades women would be excluded, from others men would be excluded. The existing distribution of work between the sexes is based on custom and precedent, rather than on native capacity, and the maintenance of the single time rate will obstruct any redistribution. The technical difficulties in arriving at a precise measurement of the relative efficiency of men and women on similar work are much greater than the majority report seemed to contemplate when women are substituted for men, although the usual result is a drop in rates. It is natural that men should fear a similar drop or a check to a possible rise when women are introduced alongside of men. Women workers usually have no depend-

ents, while men have. In the last resort, even without trade union backing, men can be relied on to stand out for a family wage, while women cannot. There is no way except that of its price in the market by which the relative value to the community of the services respectively of men and women teachers, to take one example, can be computed.

Commenting on the committee's report, a labor correspondent wrote: "It is true that identical rates will tend to the exclusion of women from many trades; but such a demarcation of men's and women's trades is desirable; and the disabilities of women workers should be met by legal minimum rates, technical training to extend their industrial scope, and special social provision for the minority of women workers who have dependents."

The London Teachers' Association voted in May for equal pay for men and women teachers of the same professional status—yeas, 6,209; nays, 3,595. It also fixed the minimum salary for assistant teachers at £200 a year, to rise by annual increments of £15 to £450. Several speakers advocated striking for the new scale.

In the trade unions women officials are rare.

In the Amalgamated Cotton Weavers' Association, two-thirds of the membership of which are women, not one woman sits on the central executive committee, and few on local committees. "A crude or disingenuous interpretation of equal pay for equal work," says Miss Barbara Drake, "is designed to keep women out and not let them in a union, and will achieve nothing at all except to drive women as before into outlaws and blacklegs." Since 1886 the London Society of Compositors, whose rules admit women to the trade and the union on equal terms with men, has in fact operated to exclude women from both, or rather to drive them into unorganized districts. The fallacy of equal pay for equal work is seen in a feature of the cotton factory: the woman weaver is paid the man's rate, but the system is piece work. Piece rates vary with the weight of the cloth—that is, with the physical effort exacted from the worker. The men get the heavy cloths and the women the light, hence the women make poorer wages. Miss Drake points out this fact, that "men are the established workers of the trade, whose energies have built up the trade union rates of wages, of which women take only the advantage."

The increase of women employed in the engineering (machinists') and allied metal trades has been: 1861, 44,000; 1891, 58,000; 1901, 85,000; 1911, 128,000; 1914, 170,000; in all industrial occupations 1916, 352,000, besides 69,000 in arsenals, ship-yards, etc. The "Treasury agreement" of 1915 prescribed: "The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions and admission of semi-skilled or female labor shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job." To this was added the assurance: "That the government will undertake to use its influence to secure the restoration of previous conditions in every case after the war." Women under the agreement were employed on piece work through a "premium bonus" system, and their earnings fell far below that of the men. A minimum wage of £1 a week, confined to women employed on work customarily done by men, formed a substantial advance for a large body of workers, and set an example to be followed by other women; and by bridging part of the gulf between the women's wages and the men's, lessened the wage problem of the trade unions. Between July, 1914, and January, 1917, the Board of Trade estimated the number of women employed by private firms in

the engineering and allied metal trades as rising from 170,000 to 440,000, about 90 per cent of the increase being employed on work customarily done by men, and 40 per cent directly replacing men. The British "Labour Gazette" for May contains statistics giving rates of wages for women and girls. In the engineering trades the minimum wages were 38s. per week for women not doing men's work; higher rates being paid women engaged on men's work or special work. At the outbreak of the war, a great armament firm employing many thousands of women paid 8 to 10s. a week of 48½ hours to girls of 17 to 30 years of age, and 12s. after the age of 31.

An opinion of the Women's Joint Standing Committee is that while the government's "Order L. 2," when first put into practice gave to women a considerable increase, in some cases from 11 and 12s. to one pound, "It is not at all clear that the present interpretation given has not kept wages on time below what could have been obtained by free negotiation." "Speaking generally," says the committee, "we may conclude that the substitution of women for men has been advantageous in the point of money wages to the women; that in certain trades

where definite agreements have been made, the women's rates approximate to the men's standard; but that when there has been no 'interference' with the ordinary rules governing the labor market there has been a disastrous lowering of that standard."

The Women's Employment Committee, appointed in August, 1916, issued its report in June, 1919. In brief, its recommendations are: All clerical posts in local government service open to women the same as to men. Organization is recognized of chief importance in securing adequate wages. Training for industry is necessary. The committee was unable to find any other working principle than that of "equal pay for equal work." The possibility of a 44-hour working week, and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay was asked for consideration by the government. Five hours' unbroken spell being too long for women, there should be short breaks for rest and refreshment. Excessive overtime, long spells, night work and Sunday work should be forbidden. Welfare work must continue. Factories employing women in considerable numbers should have a woman superintendent. The employment of married women

outside their homes is not to be encouraged. Factory day nurseries are not approved for normal times. Some system of mothers' pensions should be established. The regulation of wages by law must proceed with care lest the home worker should be deprived of work altogether. Home work in any trade should not be encouraged.

In London there is little or no organization of the women voters. The small number of votes cast at the municipal elections last spring was generally disappointing to all parties, as it showed that women, in common with the men, failed to realize the importance of the election. Only 20 per cent of the total vote was polled. Both municipal parties elected a few women to the London County Council. There is as a third organization, a Women's Municipal Party, of very little strength. The National Labor Party has a women's section, members contributing a minimum of 6d. per annum. Its National Executive Committee must have at least four women members. The party publishes "The Labor Woman."

Although the trade union organization of women made great strides during the war, the

vast majority of wage-earning women remain unorganized.

On the whole, the women of Great Britain have not yet made the most of the opportunities open to them through organization. In politics and the trade unions, they have usually turned associated administration over to the men. They have neither housewives' leagues nor domestic servants' unions. Their minds are commonly concentrated on the making of homes according to established usage, and on the details of home life when they have children. They have in general up to the present time been unconquerable individualists. In the industrial field they echo the demand "equal pay for equal work," but they have not learned that the standards of pay in that field have been established by trade unions composed of or guided by men. Being in most cases "meantime" workers they do not develop in skilled mechanical occupations the qualifications of men, nor can they in unskilled or repetitive work give as much service per year as male labor. They are to-day in many respects the economic wards of men.

PART THREE.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF AN EMPLOYER.

ALBERT FARWELL BEMIS.

I.

General Viewpoint of the Employer.

It would indeed be easy to solve all questions involved in our industrial relations if we could be assured of a sincere desire for service purely for the general public good on the part of all mankind, or even of a substantial majority. Real Socialism with equality of opportunity and obligation and the equitable distribution of products and profits might then be possible. Unfortunately, however, for the hope of reaching this condition in the early future, there is a serious obstacle to be found in the "first law of nature"—self-preservation. Before we can reach a truly Socialistic state, this first law of nature will have to be reversed within the human organism to the end that inherent selfishness may disappear and in its place may arise a natural primary interest in the good of others. Thus far in the course of human events, the individual has been largely guided in his daily life by temporal material wants and thence comes the desire for temporal

material gain. In the evolution of society, we have undoubtedly taken long steps toward social, industrial and political democracy—toward greater equality in opportunity for intellectual and material development—but self-preservation and self-interest remain as primary inherent characteristics with which we must deal and which cannot be overlooked as fundamental factors in our social order. It is well to bear these facts in mind in reviewing the industrial conditions of to-day.

We are participants in the social and industrial evolution of an individualistic society and it is in evolution not revolution that we must place our hope for better conditions. At all events this is unquestionably the employer's viewpoint and upon this viewpoint are dependent his thoughts and actions in connection with social and industrial relations. The employer believes himself to be a member of an individualistic society tempered and actuated more and more by the spirit of true democracy.

In much of the agitation for industrial reform in Great Britain and France there is a tendency to link individualism with capitalism and in some measure to treat the terms as synonymous. Whereas capital in its broadest sense may mean productive resources of any

kind, whether physical, mental or moral, for the purpose of this inquiry it should be considered in its narrower sense, viz.:—an accumulation of the material products of past effort capable of being used in the support of present or future labor. Capitalism is the condition of ownership of capital or property. Individualism is simply a social state which gives opportunity for the full expression of individual characteristics and aspirations, but it is true that in an individualistic state the right of the individual to own property is fully recognized. It is natural, therefore, to find great masses of people with Socialistic tendencies violently opposing individualism and advocating the abolition of capital. Material capital is merely the accumulation of property essential to reproduction,—annual savings of property not needed for current consumption. This is true whether capital be owned by the individual or the state. It is well to remember that capital is essential to employment and to increased productivity.

In any social state, however, above the most primeval condition, certainly wherever there is employment, there are three elements involved in industry—capital, management and labor. Upon these three elements society imposes the obligation of public service in return for which

society furnishes the opportunity and security for the earning of interest, salaries, wages and profits. Any violation of this obligation, whether voluntary or made through negligence, must inevitably react to the detriment of the offender. If capital is too greedy, it will bring upon itself government control if not confiscation. If management does not faithfully and intelligently correlate and administer the forces of capital and labor, business failure results. If labor through forces of monopoly reduces production unduly or exacts an undue wage, labor itself being the chief consumer of its products must pay the bill.

Just as there is confusion regarding the meaning of individualism and capitalism, so there is confusion as to the meaning of employer. Many think of the owners of capital as employers. In a certain sense that view is correct, but besides the owner of capital who is not active in the management or other industrial employment, both management and labor may own capital invested in the industrial organization for which they are working. For the purposes of this inquiry we shall consider employers as those directly engaged in industrial management.

War has always brought and must neces-

sarily bring quite as great changes in social and industrial conditions as in political. In the effects of the Napoleonic wars we find the nearest counterpart in recent times to the present conditions in Europe. Nominal wages in England remained high throughout the war, although their purchasing power grew less until at the end of the war in 1815 a day's wage would not buy half of the commodities which it would have supplied twenty years before. Prices of food and clothing rose to extreme limits. Whereas the expenditure of the British government near the end of the eighteenth century amounted to only two pounds and seven shillings per capita, by the end of the war it had risen to six pounds per capita.* The resulting taxation was enormous so that the working man had to pay nearly half his income to the government in direct and indirect taxation. These are the natural and inevitable effects of warfare.

Few people seem to realize the economic disruption caused by the war and its responsibility for a large measure of our present troubles. The most serious loss has been in men killed and wounded beyond further economic usefulness, the total amounting probably to 12,500,-

* In 1918 it amounted to about £70 per person.

000. According to our army statistics, males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five comprise about one-quarter of our population and compare closely in number to all the male citizens engaged in gainful occupations. Therefore, the number of men killed in the war and incapacitated from further economic service has equaled approximately half of the total male working forces of the United States, or seven per cent of the male working population of Europe—a quite material depletion in the productive forces of the world.

Although the physical losses caused by the war are by no means measured by the increase in the public debts of the belligerent nations, nevertheless this indebtedness through the taxation imposed to liquidate these public loans becomes the most direct and tangible popular evidence of the losses of the war and the individual obligations for their replacement. The net increase in the public indebtedness of the allied nations due to the war is approximately $140,000,000,000 and in the case of the Central Powers about $60,000,000,000, making a total of about $200,000,000,000—an amount equal to the total estimated wealth of the United States in 1910 and approximating an indebtedness of $300 per capita of population of all the warring

nations involved. Through the liquidation of this indebtedness by taxation and otherwise in meeting the replacement cost of the more pressing needs, the annual burden falling upon every man, woman and child of all the belligerent countries within the next fifteen or twenty years will amount to approximately $25.00—an insistent obligation upon the individual to produce and to save.

Practically every country in the world during the war has materially increased the amount of its outstanding currency. This is particularly true of the belligerent nations. Russia stands first in the amount of printing press funds. It is estimated that Germany has currency outstanding on the basis of pre-war exchange rates to the amount of $10,000,000,000, or about $160 per capita, compared with the present amount of currency in the United States of about $55 per capita. This, together with the reduction in Germany's gold reserves from $637,000,000 to $277,000,000, has so depreciated the value of the mark that in foreign exchange it has sunk to about thirty per cent of its normal value. The issuance of paper currency on a large scale has also occurred in Great Britain and France, where the present per capita amounts of currency in circulation

equal respectively (at pre-war exchange rates) $55 and $180, likewise much depreciating the currency and increasing nominal values of all commodities. Furthermore, in the cases of Great Britain, France and Italy, such have been the declines in exports and the increases in imports, particularly of food and munitions from America, that the value of their currency as expressed in United States dollars has dropped to unprecedented figures and stands as an almost insuperable bar to the purchase and importation of food and materials essential to the sustenance of the people and the reconstruction of their economic life.

In the light of the foregoing brief review of social and industrial standards from the employer's viewpoint and with a realization of the enormous social and economic disruption directly resulting from the war, let us analyze briefly the industrial conditions of both Great Britain and France before passing on to comment upon phases of the present situation in those countries.

II.

Conditions in Great Britain and France.

For centuries London has been the financial center of the world. For many years practically all nations have each year contributed something to the national income of Great Britain. So ample has been her supply of capital that she has not been able to retain it all for use at home and vast amounts have been set up in the work of reproduction in foreign lands. Thus with an ample supply of capital and with every facility provided through the financial center of the world for its most effective use in industry, and with favorable laws resulting from generations, if not centuries, of wide experience, Great Britain has until recently excelled all other nations in this element of production—capital.

From the very beginning of the factory system in Great Britain practically until the end of the last century, mechanics and invention were the predominant factors in successful industrial management. Leading the world in

these matters in the very beginning, as the century wore on Great Britain was forced gradually to give place to America and Germany in this field of endeavor. Essential to the best development of industrial management have been the schools of applied science. England has lagged far behind America and Germany in this respect, and it has taken the great war to bring her to a keen realization of this condition. Throughout the country there has been a big awakening to the necessity for the use of applied science in industry, both in connection with the daily routine of factory life and in research. Even the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the home of classics, are feeling the influence of this necessity and are endeavoring to meet the issue. In the last twenty or thirty years whereas science and inventive skill have not one whit abated as elements in management, what might be called "human engineering" has appeared as an important factor. In this field also Great Britain has been slow to move, though here again awakened somewhat by the war.

In no country has the principle of collective bargaining been so highly developed or so generally utilized in the adjustment of working conditions and wages as in Great Britain. The

growth of labor unionism in Great Britain during the past century is familiar to all. The factory system introduced many new problems in the social and physical well-being of the race and led to many abuses. Following the annulment of the law preventing combinations of labor in 1824, the working classes gradually organized for self-protection against these abuses. Their successes in this meritorious field have very naturally led at times to measures quite beyond the economic power of the times to grant, and frequently to measures unduly restricting output, which reacted seriously to their own detriment. From small beginnings of local scope trade unionism in Great Britain has grown so that now there are over four and a half millions of individual members, representing nearly three hundred crafts and industries and federated into several national groups, the more prominent of which are the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers, each federation having more than a million individual members.

Quickly following the development of trade unions the employers in many industries found it necessary to combine in order adequately to meet the issues thus raised. As early as 1858

the master cotton spinners in the Bolton district established a wage scale through their association in conference with the workers' organizations and this scale has continued up to the present time as the basis for subsequent adjustments. Such associations represented separate industries and, though originally confined to organizations of local scope, have more recently included those of national character. Problems growing out of the war emphasized the need for an organization representing employers in all trades and the Federation of British Industries was set up to meet this need, though it is not alone in the field and has especially debarred from the scope of its work questions relating to wages and working conditions except upon special request of a member association.

Neither joint industrial councils nor shop committees nor even shop stewards had their origin in wartime but were adopted as war measures upon the recommendation of the "Whitley Committee" and otherwise. About twenty-five or thirty years ago in a number of industries, such as the tin plate industry of Wales and the cotton industry of Lancashire, there arose a need for standing committees to represent the two participants in collective bar-

gaining and councils were set up for this purpose composed of equal numbers of duly accredited employers and workers. Such a standing joint council in the cotton spinning industry was inaugurated by the "Brooklands agreement" of March, 1893, following twenty years of agitation and a six months' strike. Under this plan there is a joint council sitting at Manchester to act on matters affecting the whole industry, which each spinning center such as Bolton or Oldham has its joint committee to adjust local problems. A shop committee or shop steward in each plant usually appointed by the local union officials from the workers in the plant to represent them in their dealings with the management has also been the outgrowth of the plan.

Home industries are carried on to some extent in Great Britain, though less than in most other European countries. An interesting variation in this line is the custom that has existed for years in the china clay trade, a minor industry in which the workers have always demanded a schedule of hours that would give time outside of their regular work in the pits for carrying on some home industry or other "side line." This was an important considera-

tion in recently bringing about a forty-six-hour week through their Whitley council.

Collective bargaining may clearly and definitely be considered as the accepted industrial policy in Great Britain for the adjustment of working conditions and wages. Neither all employers nor all labor representatives like the methods adopted for carrying out the policy, but they are generally considered as fair and just and as being the right medium for bringing about the harmony of purpose that should exist between management and labor. Two fundamental flaws in the working of the accustomed methods of collective bargaining were mentioned by British employers. Frequently the workers refuse to carry out the agreements made by their representatives or, having approved such agreements, violate their terms. Under such conditions, as the unions are without enforceable responsibility, the employers have no practical recourse. Quite as serious is the tendency for men of ready tongue and extreme views antagonistic to the present social order, to overrule by their illusive words the men of saner minds in labor's councils and thereby dictate policies which more deliberation would discard. Where this has occurred, as in the case of the jute manufacturing indus-

try of Dundee and the shipbuilding industry of Glasgow, joint councils become unworkable because there is no middle ground on which both sides can stand.

As a whole, beginning in the early part of the nineteenth century and continuing for many years, Great Britain has led the world in industrial fields through her predominance in matters of capital and finance, working harmoniously in combination with the two other elements of production—management and labor. In more recent years, largely through her failure to progress adequately in the field of management, she has been losing ground to others and now as a result of war, she is seriously handicapped through the loss of her financial supremacy.

From the very beginning France has been tempered by idealism and detail. The capitalist and financier always supercautious in matters of detail have occasionally, as in the case of the Panama Canal, been led into unprofitable investment through their love of the romantic. The French mind is highly scientific. This characteristic together with ability in matters of detail has been largely responsible for the usual soundness of French finance, but on

the other hand has been a distinct handicap to the development of large private enterprises. Too great conservatism has been shown in these matters. The bank check as used in America is almost unknown in France, though the war has opened the eyes of her people to the usefulness of this medium for payments.

The same attributes of superscience and superattention to detail are evident in French industrial management. Her schools of applied science have been too highly technical and thus too much beyond the scope of the average man to be an important factor in practical management. Moreover, management has been confined largely to the capitalist class and apparently has not been over-responsive to the needs and desires of labor and the opportunities for aid and improvement from that source.

France is a curious combination of individualism and communism. There are over six million landed proprietors in France out of a total population of forty millions. French household economy and home industry are proverbial and well illustrated by the fact that before the war hand looms in the home equalled in number one-third of all the cotton power looms in the nation. Yet their labor movement is distinctly Socialistic and though there is a

very sane and conservative element in organized labor, it is too small at present to begin to counterbalance the radical bodies represented by the main group of French unions—the Confédération Générale du Travail. Although this is loosely organized and has no practical constructive industrial policies, it exerts a powerful influence in labor circles through its appeal to the French love of the ideal and the sensational. During the war the membership in the federation largely increased. It is now working to bring about a "social revolution" in order to attain the ends for which the federation seems to stand—the abolition of individualism and the formation of some kind of a Socialistic state. According to the Paris "Excelsior" of May 3, 1919, French industrial unions are credited with over a million members, and so also are the agricultural unions.

It is almost needless to state that collective bargaining has had but a small place in France. Though there are numerous employers' organizations, they deal mostly with technical, commercial and statistical matters and seem scrupulously to avoid the discussion of employment relations. It is natural that they should shun all negotiation with labor bodies which stand for the "abolition of capital" and of individual

property rights, but more interest, even of a paternalistic nature, shown in the social welfare of their workers, would greatly help to lessen the gap between the employer and employed in France. There are no employers more kindly or more cultivated than the French and it is specially unfortunate in the present crisis that more cordial relations should not exist in this industrial partnership. Perhaps, however, the present necessity will bring this about as already great interest is being evinced in modern and more scientific methods of large-scale production. Furthermore, a law was passed on April 23, 1919, which will soon establish the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour industrial week. Under the influence of this act the ministers of commerce and labor have endeavored to bring about arrangements between groups of employers and employees in the different industries for the working out of problems arising from the reduction in hours. One of the first of these arrangements was between an association of employers in the machine shop industry and the metal trades union and recognized on the part of the workers the piece rate wage, the maintenance of production and the necessity for avoiding restriction of output; and on the part of the employers the principle

of maintaining weekly wages for time rate workers and guarantees against the reduction of piece rate scales in the face of extraordinary production. If the spirit of this agreement be carried out and the same policy adopted by other industries, there is hope for France.

This reference to industrial conditions in France would be incomplete without calling attention to the excellent system of government trade schools known as "Ecoles Practiques du Commerce et de l'Industrie." They are distributed throughout the country and from them between fifteen and twenty thousand boys and as many girls about fifteen or sixteen years old go out each year well-trained to turn their hands intelligently to most any job, and, by adding to the conservative forces of home workers and landed proprietors, make the nation still more impregnable against the attacks of Bolshevism.

While possessing many features of real strength, the organization of industry in France has not made France one of the great powers in the world of commerce, simply because capital, management and labor have not worked harmoniously and effectively together to that end.

III.

Notes and Comment on the General Situation.

No doubt the immediate cause of the unrest which is shaking the foundations of the social world and seriously disturbing, if not breaking asunder, the old industrial order is the attractive Socialistic propaganda which are falling upon the very fertile ground prepared by the general demoralization caused by the war. Behind all this, however, there is evident in all phases of the unrest an insistence by the masses upon a larger measure of social justice in the distribution of intellectual and material opportunities for self-improvement and individual expression. The practical measures proposed for meeting this unrest will not in themselves effect a cure. Better housing will not of itself accomplish the desired end, nor Whitley councils, nor the "social revolution" of France. It can come only through the complete equality of opportunity and real co-operation upon the part of all classes of society. This means the

wiping out of monopoly in whatever form, whether of capital or labor. It means more equality of opportunity in education and in work, more unity of purpose, more equity in the distribution of the products of commerce, industry and engineering—in short, more real democracy in our human relations. However, in so far as these things may be brought about they can only come through a commensurable obligation upon the individual to do his full share to the extent of his ability toward the general public good. Work and service must be the measure of the opportunity of the individual to participate in the advantages which the masses are now demanding.

Whatever the major movement may be in which we are participating in our progress toward the ends of social justice, we are certainly at present the victims of various economic fallacies which have been imposed upon society under the leadership of idealists influenced by intellectuals without experience in practical affairs, acting in league with the forces of labor monopoly. These fallacies include in large measure the minimum wage, the eight-hour day, the limitation of the field of profiteering to capital, and finally the idea that capital may not be needed, anyway.

As is well known, minimum wages have been set up by the government in various industries and for various lines of work in Great Britain, France and America. In America there are forty-eight separate states that have sovereignty in the matter, whereas in both Great Britain and France sovereignty lies in a single body. In the United States, the minimum wage is unscientific and uneconomic in character. As its foundation it has the idea that the opinion of one or two individuals may properly establish a standard of living for the members of some particular group, and at the market prices of some particular day which society as a whole is obligated to provide to the individuals of that particular group, in return for a certain number of hours of work and quite without reference to any practical or scientific co-ordination of real wages between different sections, or any relation to the service or work performed by those to whom that wage is paid. There is no fear that this wage system will go far in America. It has only to be broadly extended to every state and in every state to every job and it will quickly kill itself. In Great Britain and France there has been more serious attempt to determine the economic wage. More important still, in those countries

the sovereignty being in the central authorities, should the system be extended to all lines of work, there is bound to result that co-ordination which is essential to any practical success in this field. Even in Great Britain and France, however, the application of the system is at fault in ignoring differences in individual or group standards of living, also market variations, and ignoring entirely the question of whether society as a whole could pay the wage for the work done.

Whereas there is a general recognition of the necessity for greater production on the part of capital, management, the public and many labor leaders, it does not extend very widely to the individual laborer. In general, organized labor has not concerned itself with the matter of production which really should be its chief tool in the amelioration of the working classes. Through real interest in quality and quantity production (with due regard to health) must inevitably come success to labor, whether organized or not. It is interesting to find a full appreciation of this fact on the part of those in control of one of the two largest labor organizations in Great Britain—the General Federation of Trade Unions. In their clear and

comprehensive views of the fundamental economics of the labor problem, in their courageous stand for right thinking and right action in these matters, and their scrupulous adherence to the work and interests of the Federation and to the exclusion of politics, Mr. W. A. Appleton, the general secretary of this Federation, and his associates are doing a fine piece of constructive work for labor and industry in Great Britain.

The principles of scientific management so well introduced by Federick W. Taylor, though discarded by many employers and never accepted by organized labor, are nevertheless receiving wider and wider application in industry. There is an unfortunate misconception as to the limitations of these principles in the belief that they do not adequately protect the health and physical well-being of workers nor give them opportunity for individual development. No more unfortunate impression could get abroad. Whereas these principles were originally applied chiefly to the mechanical element of factory production with too little regard to the effect upon the human system, more recently the principles have been applied to the human element itself. The principles simply involve scientific analyses of the various factors

of production and the use of the details of these analyses in promoting the best productive results. Certainly such results will not be attained without due regard through analyses to the health and well-being of workers. By whatever name the principles of scientific management may be known, it is clear that the solution of many of the present-day problems in our industrial relations must come through their use. It is interesting to find that in France this is being exemplified in numerous instances. One of the principal French exponents of these principles is M. Charles de Freminville, whose success as the industrial engineer for several French companies in the metal trades is to-day one of the brightest spots on the French horizon.

The general imposition of the eight-hour day will seriously work to the detriment of the peoples of Great Britain, France and America in recovering from the shock of war. In France under a law passed on April 23, 1919, the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week has become a fact—though still only in prospect inasmuch as the law leaves it to the ministers of commerce and labor to arrange for its application between groups of employers and workers. In Great Britain and America, although imposed

in part by law, it has been during the past year, in fact during the past six months, largely imposed by the insistence of labor. This movement is partially the result of misconception as to the economic advantage of a universal eight-hour day and partially to the natural desire of labor to make working conditions easier. As a practical proposition in many industries it means a reduction in output of 10 or 12 per cent * and, being accompanied by insistence upon at least the same weekly wage as for the longer hours, will surely increase the cost of production and resulting prices by 10 or 12 per cent or more. Whereas if this change might be made gradually over a period of ten or twenty years, the forces of invention and management might come in to more than overbalance the decreased production, there is practically no hope of accomplishing that for immediate needs and thus government and labor are seriously adding to their own burdens in meeting the economic issues resulting from the war.

A favorite plea in Great Britain and France has been that labor should receive a much larger share of the total national product.

* Cf. Recent reports by the National Industrial Conference Board on "Hours of Work as Related to Output and Health of Workers" in the textile trades.

This, perhaps, has been largely due to the fallacious assertions of various socialists, such as Sidney Webb, to the effect that labor, though comprising considerably more than two-thirds of the population, gets but one-third of the wealth produced. This assertion in the case of Great Britain has been clearly shown to be erroneous by the Government Census of Production for the year 1907 and by a very clever analysis of the national income and the division of the product of industry for the year 1911 by Prof. Arthur L. Bowley of the University of London. He shows quite conclusively that out of a total net national income of £1,900,000,000 the maximum estimate of surplus and unearned income that could be regarded as transferable to national purposes would be about £550,000,000. Of this sum, about £325,000,000 was drawn upon for national government expenses and for the savings essential to reproduction. Something less than 12 per cent "on the extremest reckoning can have been spent out of home-produced income by the rich or moderately well-off on anything of the nature of luxury," whereas 68 per cent goes to those employed. In regard to the distribution of products, his inquiry leads him to the following conclusion: "The wealth of the country, however divided,

was insufficient before the war for a general high standard; there is nothing as yet to show that it will be greater in the future. Hence the most important task—more important immediately than the improvement of the division of the product—incumbent on employers and workmen alike,—is to increase the national product."

Whereas there are in both Great Britain and France numerous co-operative societies, their development in industrial lines has been comparatively small and unimportant except as an example of what may take place in the future. There are, however, certain fields in which the co-operative or profit-sharing plan of organization has met with considerable success; for instance, in semi-public institutions such as gas works. In general there is nothing of particular importance to learn from Great Britain or France in favor of profit-sharing in industry.

It is easy in a small country like Great Britain or France to estimate the value of profit-sharing as an economic industrial factor. Profit-sharing has been much discussed as a feature of the proposed reorganization of the coal-mining industry of Great Britain. It takes but a moment's consideration, however to appreciate that such a policy would not be just to

mining labor nor solve the wage problem in that industry. Among the mines in any district or in the nation as a whole there must always be a great difference in productivity and profits as between the mine with the best quality of coal and the best situated for economic operation, and that mine which is most disadvantageously situated in this respect. Consequently, unless the mines were nationalized or all included in one great organization, those miners who were working in the best mine would get large increments of profit while those in the poorest would get nothing, although they would be performing identically the same service, perhaps even better service, as compared with their more fortunate brethren.

A much more practical form of profit-sharing, though usually ignored entirely in the public mind, is found in the graduated income and profit taxes of Great Britain and America, which might well be continued in principle by both governments as the best method for distributing to the public their share in the profits of industry. The present high rates probably unduly check initiative, and in spots the taxation under the present laws is unduly discriminatory, but in principle as a plan for the public to share in the profits of industry it is sound.

Labor's share in profits is much more direct and logical when applied in the form of piece-rate wages and production bonuses. Whereas organized labor is largely opposed to piece rates and production bonuses in Great Britain, as in America, this direct method of sharing in the profits through wages varying with individual efficiency is regarded favorably by the individual worker. It is very generally applied throughout Great Britain in those lines of work to which the plan is adapted.

As collective bargaining in Great Britain has progressed from an individual plant through an individual district to include in many cases an entire industry, so it is natural to expect the extension of the principle to include all industries in the nation. The uselessness and cruelty of the strike, though not applying clearly and strongly to the case of an individual plant, quickly becomes evident when amplified to include large local or national groups. The obligation of labor to the public is violated by such action and thus as previously indicated, the reaction upon labor itself is most severe. The strike as a means to enforce demands for higher wages or shorter hours has been recognized of late almost universally by labor unions as their established policy. When this policy

is extended to federations of unions, it then becomes the policy of the sympathetic strike or the universal strike. It is clearly not within the power of either capital, management or labor, acting arbitrarily justly to co-ordinate the forces of production, and thus federated labor through the sympathetic strike will not effect changes in wages or hours which can, beyond the moment, give labor any advantage to the detriment of capital or the managing classes. Sympathetic striking is not collective bargaining, but rather collective fighting. In its adoption of the policy not only of the strike but particularly of the sympathetic strike to enforce demands for higher wages and shorter hours (which are not matters of fundamental principle) federated labor to-day seriously menaces industrial harmony and efficiency and indeed national integrity,—and the more effiectively organized under this principle the more the menace.

In France the Confédération Générale du Travail has adopted this policy as its fundamental weapon in the endeavor to force a social revolution. In Great Britain the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport-workers is the chief exponent of the sympathetic strike. In America the American Fed-

eration of Labor, representing the great majority of all labor unions, has largely approved of this weapon in the forcing of its demands. Organized labor is even to-day using the weapon, passively if not actively, in trying to force its authority and organization into government service, including the police service, which clearly in administering law and order for all classes should affiliate with none. Perhaps no better realization of the futility and destructiveness of the large-scale sympathetic strike and no stronger arraignment of its use have come to the writer's attention than evidenced in the statement on the first page of the "Democrat," the official organ of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, under date of April 17, 1919, and headed, "Under the Big Three—Britain's Danger." The following extract will give its tenor:

> "When the Triple Alliance was formed there were many who saw danger. Miners, railwaymen and transport workers, combining to further their own particular interests, must sooner or later clash with the common interest. All told, these organisations represent less than one-sixth of the working population, but because of their control of fuel and transport they can enslave the whole community."
>
> "Some there are who understand that they secure their special advantages at the expense of others.

They are not deceived by the gabble about the state providing, and to their credit be it said they regret the additional burdens placed upon their industrial neighbours and also fear the reaction upon their own position which economic law already threatens. They know that the ruin of other industries, even if it be only temporary, must reduce the demand for coal and the need for transport."

"Others do not see so far, or, seeing, do not care. Either they are utterly selfish or they are pledged to political experiments of the types enunciated by Marx, by Proudhon, and by Bakounine. It is this latter group which threatens most danger. They are small in number, and unscrupulous in politics. . . . All they profess to care about is the immediate overthrow of society as it now exists. What most of them are really concerned about is the particular pedestal they would occupy in the government they would substitute, and also what measures would be necessary to perpetuate the proletarian autocracy they would enforce."

"The man who runs and is not a member of the Triple Alliance bewails the fact that coal, which formerly was expeditiously delivered at 19s. 6d. per ton, now reaches him after exasperating delays, and if he is lucky, at 49s. 6d. per ton, and he can be overheard discussing the financial value of the millions of hours which London alone, each week, loses through inefficient transport."

"The education of the millions who are outside the Alliance will not end with cost of fuel and transport. . . . Already Lancashire and other counties are learning the truth of these things by bitter experience,

and as they learn they will react against the economic domination of all classes by three classes. The sooner they react the shorter will be their period of suffering."

Clearly the most important field for the efforts of organized labor, even more, if possible, than for management and capital, is in stimulating production subject to physical and moral healthfulness of workers, and in helping to reach a common understanding by all classes as to the elementary principles of industry and economics. Whereas all classes might well come within the scope of such an educative effort, the need within the ranks of labor may be illustrated by another quotation from the "Democrat" of April 24, 1919, under the title of "The Working Man's Need, A Plea for Economic Education":

"Amidst the welter of opinion and counter-opinion, fact and counter-fact, that play around the present industrial unrest there is one point that emerges very plainly indeed. That point is the entire ignorance of the average workingman of the economic principles that govern the prosperity of trade and, in direct sequence, the prosperity of the workingman himself.

"The working man is in no way to blame for this state of things. He has never had the time nor the opportunity for even a superficial study of the wider issues which are inevitably affected by any change in trading methods; moreover, he has rarely, if ever, been

given any stimulus to set him thinking on these matters and desiring opportunities of knowledge. In the past it has always been the policy as between master and man that the man shall be kept in ignorance of these matters, in case, with wider knowledge, Jack should become as good as his master.

"With the founding and growth of the trade union movement, however, a new element has entered into the position—an element which has been steadily increasing in force until, at the present time, demands and methods of enforcing demands which fifty years ago have been regarded as the wild chimera of some weird dream are now taken as matters of course, and merely looked upon as an unmitigated nuisance to be endured with stoicism and forgotten as soon as may be.

"The new element is merely this: that the workingman has realised his own power. He has for long been familiar with the fact that the owner of capital, by refusing to allow him to work, can deprive him of the means of living, save on certain conditions in which, in his ignorance, he has had to acquiesce. It is only of late years that he has realised that he, in his turn, can take the wind out of the capitalist's sails by refusing to supply the labour which alone can yield the capitalist any profit on his possessions.

"Unfortunately, however, the pendulum has swung back too far. The realisation of power has brought with it the desire and determination to use it at any cost. Hence the existence of 'Big Threes'; of anarchical threats against the world in general; of devastating strikes that injure no one more profoundly than the workingman himself. From every organised trade

come demands for shorter hours and for higher wages, without the slightest regard for whether these demands can be met without serious injury to the trade concerned and without the smallest recognition of the fact that on the prosperity of the trade—and on that alone—depends the prosperity of even the humblest employee therein. Shorter hours are asked for as a remedy for unemployment without any regard to whether the sudden enforcement of the demands will result in so great a dislocation of the trade concerned as to make unemployment the certain portion of many who are now employed.

"It lies simply in the fact that the workingman has never been trained to see that trade is a combination of many interests, delicately adjusted and carefully compromised; that he cannot realise that any sudden alteration of any component must mean an equally sudden readjustment of all the other components and that this violent readjustment leads to dislocation spreading in such wide circles that there can be no vision wide enough to see the ultimate end of it. He vaguely knows that there are such things as imports and exports, foreign trade 'dumping,' rates of exchange, and a host of other technical terms apparently too abstruse for notice, but he has never been taught that these things have a direct bearing on the size of the loaf on his breakfast table.

"He lacks, too, the trained vision which allows him to see that his demands have a bearing on not one but all these things; he does not see that these demands, undoubtedly right though they may be, must in his own interest be made in the way and at the time when they

can be most beneficially met. It is all very well for a Big Three to paralyse industry till they get what they want; but it is all very ill when they get, as a result of their action, both what they desire and many other things very far from their desire.

"The workingman needs education to enable him to judge on these matters for himself; to select his leaders with due discretion, and to scrutinise their motives with the seeing eye before following them.

"The worker needs more leisure; he has a right to more of the comforts of life, and God speed him in his efforts to get them. Let him, however, be given the education necessary for the obtaining of his goal in the sane way; the constructive and not the destructive mode."

On April 4, 1919, the Conference of Employers and Employed called together by Lloyd George to consider the causes of industrial unrest in Great Britain, and the ways and means for improving or correcting industrial relations, reported back to government recommending the appointment of a National Industial Council of Employers and Employed to serve informally and as an advisory body as the supreme Whitley Council representing all the industries of the nation in the adjudication of wages and working conditions. This council would be composed, in the beginning, of two hundred representatives of employers elected

by the employers' associations, and two hundred representatives of labor elected by the unions, and as largely representative of all the various industries as possible. One or two members, perhaps the chairman and vice-chairman, would be appointed by government to represent the public interest. This council might be called the Supreme Industrial Court of Great Britain. To it matters of purely national scope would be referred by the national joint industrial councils of the different industries.

The recommendations of the joint conference had not, up to August 18, 1919, received the formal approval of the administration. On that date, however, Lloyd George announced the adoption of the plan as one of the chief reconstruction policies of his administration. No doubt it will now be shortly introduced into Parliament in the form of a government bill and, in accordance with the general expectation in England in May, legislation will probably result.

There is no great enthusiasm on the part either of employers or employed in Great Britain over the establishment of this proposed National Industrial Council. There is a positive objection on the part of many employers' and

workers' representatives to any larger participation by government in industrial matters than absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, participation to the extent of authorizing this council and possibly to the extent of appointing one or two government officials to sit as members of it seems to be generally conceded to be a necessary, if not desirable, step to be taken at this time.

In so far as the proposed National Industrial Council may succeed at all in the adjustment of working conditions and wages, it must necessarily perform the very desirable service of co-ordinating wages with respect to service or work as between the different jobs and industries and as between different sections of the country. In no large modern nation has there, up to the present time, existed any body with this important duty. If it does work successfully, it will have solved, for the time being, one of the chief industrial problems confronting Great Britain and thereby removed one of the immediate causes of unrest.

If this National Industrial Council is to function properly, it would seem necessary virtually to require participation in the council of all the industrial elements of employers and employed and, furthermore, to impose upon both

the employers and the employees the moral obligation, if not legal as well, to respect the findings of the council. This perhaps might be accomplished by making the funds of employers' associations and of the labor unions subject to attachment by the government in case of action by either side in contravention of the edicts of the council.

In drawing any conclusions regarding America from the foregoing review of conditions in Great Britain and France, we should bear in mind the very great differences between those countries and ours. We have a very great extent of territory with widely varying climates. A great variety of races is represented among our inhabitants, many of whom have but recently made their home among us. In many of our industrial cities half of the population is of foreign birth and many are unable to speak our language and are unfamiliar with our institutions and traditions. Furthermore, in continental United States we have forty-eight states and the District of Columbia, each having sovereignty within its own borders over most matters involving its industrial relations.

The industry and activity of the American workman has been the cause of repeated comment by British employers who have visited

America. They have been at a loss to understand the reason for this condition. It is probably to be found in the generally cheerful and stimulating climate, in the greater sobriety and better living of the American workman, and particularly in the truer spirit of real democracy under which in America there is little distinction between classes and every man has the chance, unlimited by class restrictions, to rise from the bottom to the top. Furthermore, in all fields of activity in America there is a practical "get-there" spirit, which, whether in the field of capital, management or labor, is, no doubt, responsible for a very large measure of our industrial progress.

America now clearly stands as the wealthiest nation in the world. The war has made New York the world's financial center, for the present at least, and it is surprising to find considerable opinion in business and banking circles in London and Paris to the effect that it will be a long time, if ever, before London again assumes control in this respect. Our methods of finance have been frank and direct. Our decimal currency has facilitated calculations and reduced clerical expenses. Our method of payment by check and the wide opportunity for individual and business bank deposits and

credit have helped much in the financial conduct of industry. Whereas in the large-scale financing of business, and particularly in the field of speculation, monopoly, extravagance and waste have often been present, government control, through our anti-trust laws and graduated income and profits taxes, has stepped in largely to eliminate these harmful practices. In further intervention care should be taken not to destroy individual initiative in financial matters by costly oppressive government control. Whereas capital even more than government should relentlessly punish if not prevent monopoly or favoritism within its ranks, government should scrupulously avoid wholesale criticism of business, based on isolated incidents, thus unjustly discrediting the capitalist and manager in the eyes of labor, and fostering discord where harmony should exist.

It has been largely through management that America has excelled in the industrial field. American independence and activity, together with the rapidly increasing effectiveness of the technical training of our schools and colleges, and the ever-present opportunity for the individual working man to advance through enterprise and merit into the ranks of capital and management, have placed America first in

large-scale economic production. Although management has been too largely autocratic, in recent years through the rapid growth of employment service departments employers and wage-workers are at least learning to know each other better if not to act in greater harmony and co-operation. The degree and manner of the participation of labor in management to the extent of counseling in regard to working conditions and wages are problems which are to-day receiving wide attention in America. This participation for the present cannot well come to any large degree through joint councils because neither employers nor workers are properly organized for this method. However, intra-plant participation is being tried out through various forms of shop committees such as those of the Bedford plan, the Leitch plan and others. Whereas the direct evidence for or against shop committees as exemplified in Great Britain leads to no very definite conclusion, it is clear that through some form of shop committee labor's demand for a share in management and the obligation of management favorably to respond, may properly be met.

In the matter of the training and education of labor in elementary economics and in the de-

tails of commerce and industry is there not a direct responsibility resting on capital and especially on management actively to utilize their powers and resources toward supplying "The Working Man's Need?"* Within the factory and through local trade schools the manager has a unique opportunity, thus far little used, by popular forms of training and education to create the interest of the laborer in his work and to foster harmony and co-operation.

Whatever may be one's attitude toward the practices of organized labor, its responsibility for the representation of large numbers of our working population can scarcely be denied or ignored. With this representation there is likewise a responsibility,—responsibility of the most intense nature and greatest scope,—to fulfill labor's obligations to the national well-being. These obligations should not be ignored nor avoided and in so far as they are squarely, fairly and intelligently met just so far will labor chiefly benefit. These obligations will not be fulfilled through monopoly nor through force,—not through undue wages and restrictive measures, nor through sympathetic strikes. They will be fulfilled through real co-operation with the other industrial elements in assuring

* Cf. page 352.

for America the maximum quality and quantity of production of the necessaries and conveniences of life consistent with our national life and social well-being.

The National Industrial Council, which, after being proposed universally by a joint conference of employers and employees, has recently received the approval of Lloyd George's administration as the medium for the adjustment of wages and working conditions throughout Great Britain, is the most interesting, if not the most helpful movement of all the recent developments in Great Britain and France for improving industrial relations. If this proposal be effectively enacted into law, this council will inevitably become the supreme industrial court of Great Britain for the co-ordination of wages and work throughout all the industries and districts of the nation. The conditions in America differ so greatly from those in Great Britain, as previously mentioned, that it is not easy to suggest a corresponding application of the industrial council to our country. Several resolutions are now pending in Congress proposing some form of conference between capital, labor and the government for the consideration of ways and means for improving our own industrial relations, perhaps through some

such medium as this British council. None of these resolutions merit favorable attention, however, owing to the meagre and wholly unsatisfactory nature of the proposed representation of labor and management in the preliminary conference or commission of inquiry which would be established. Although this phase in the evolution of industrial relations in Great Britain is of extreme importance and offers great possibilities of usefulness, it is distinctly experimental, so that we may well "make haste slowly" and not act in this matter until we make sure of the representation of labor and management adequate to the importance of the work and the interests involved while, at the same time, watching this most interesting British experiment and getting full advantage therefrom.

PART FOUR.

HOUSING AND AGRICULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

ALBERT FARWELL BEMIS.

I.

Britain's Attempt to Solve the Housing and Land Problem.

The Commission was instructed to report "on the methods in operation or under consideration for providing homes or cultivable lands either for the men released from war service or for citizens in general." No visit was made to Italy, but conditions relative to these subjects in Great Britain and France were investigated. A general review of these conditions follows with references to details of particular interest.

The war has brought forcibly to the public attention in both countries the necessity for more and better houses for the working people. During the last four or five years there has been practically no building of homes except those erected for munition workers, and the number of those has been comparatively small —probably under 3 per cent of what would have been built during the same period in the ordinary course of events. In England war

housing developments were permanent, while in France wholly temporary in character.

Long wars usually bring housing problems. The condition in England after the Napoleonic wars has been thus described:

"The building of houses was so discouraged that the consumption of bricks and glass was actually declining. . . . There was a tax on windows, which yielded a million and a quarter annually, and which caused the building up of windows, and a consequent shutting out of the sunlight, to the serious diminution of human comfort and health. There was no drainage, and the filth of the city lay festering on the streets, poisoning the unhappy people." *

In Great Britain the shortage is variously estimated from 300,000 houses to 1,000,000—450,000 would probably represent the actual need. In France, it is almost needless to state, the destruction of houses within the war zone has been very great. There, in estimating the immediate housing needs, although all cities and towns outside of the devastated area are now seriously overcrowded, still, owing to the large number of citizens killed in the war, the lack of building during the last five years may be practically ignored and we may assume that the houses destroyed and damaged beyond ordinary repairs within the devastated area may be taken as a measure of the immediate short-

* Mackenzie, "The 19th Century."

age. This total approximates 410,000 buildings in the estimate of Major George B. Ford of the American Red Cross and President of La Renaissance des Cités.

Aside from this physical phase of the housing problem, there is a social phase engendered by the war, which has forcibly turned public attention to the question of housing. In every particular, war events have inspired among all classes of people a deepened interest in humanity (strange as it may seem), and a greater regard for the physical and social conditions under which the masses of the population live. Throughout both countries, in varying degree, there is an awakening of interest, directly resulting from the war, in improved sanitary conditions, better lighting, drier, warmer, more cheerful homes, and as of the first importance, purer and more adequate and more convenient water supplies.

During the war, the people of Great Britain and France have become accustomed to the handling of large national problems by direct governmental action. For this reason, and because of the size and extent of the present housing problem, calling for material improvement in quality and quantity, it is natural to find the governments of both countries seriously con-

sidering, and in fact, adopting, measures for fostering individual and associated interest in and the subsidizing of improved industrial and community housing and the prompt building of modern homes for workers, both in town and country. Whereas this governmental participation is largely, if not wholly, connected with immediate necessities resulting from the war, it is practically sure to continue to some extent as a permanent policy in connection with the more ultimate general need.

The cost of building in Great Britain is about the same as in France and that was also the condition prior to the war. Pre-war costs in both countries would compare with costs in this country for similar work in the ratio of two to three. A house which in Great Britain or France would have cost $2,000, in America would have cost $3,000. As a result of the war, greater advances have occurred in Europe than in America, the present cost of building in both Great Britain and France being about three times the pre-war cost while in America the cost has about doubled.* This, for the pres-

* E. G. Culpin, one of the leading housing experts of Great Britain, estimates the present cost of small houses to be three times that before the war. Under date of July 4, 1919, he gives actual prices on recent contracts—"Prices received for some four-roomed cottages near London are as high as £1050 per cottage, and very few four-roomed cottages are being built. The general type is three bedrooms, living room, parlour and kitchen. It appears that the average price including land, roads, and drainage, is approaching £800. One big contract has just been settled at an average building cost of £550 each, ranging from

ent, puts America nearly on a parity with these two countries, the house mentioned costing about $6,000 in all three countries. As rents are largely determined by costs or values (except as modified by taxes and interest rates) it may safely be assumed that, speaking very generally, pre-war rents in Great Britain and France were about two-thirds of those in America and would now tend toward equality in the case of essentially the same dwellings.

Owing to the magnitude of the present housing shortage and to the very high cost of building, very great attention is being given to the development of new materials and new types and methods of construction. Already some very ingenious suggestions have been made along these lines and some, indeed, are being practically tried out. The development of these efforts during the next two or three years should prove of particular interest to American architects, engineers and builders, as well as beneficial to the general public.

In both Great Britain and France there has been a distinct revival of interest in agriculture as a result of the war and partly in fear of emigration, the governments of the two coun-

£490 for a house with three bedrooms, living room, and kitchen to £620 for the six roomed type mentioned. To these figures land, etc., has to be added."

tries have been taking many unusual steps toward improving agricultural methods and opening up additional lands to the growing of food and feed stuffs. Whereas numerous schemes have been under consideration for accomplishing these things, the actual achievement has been small. There is, nevertheless, a strenuous effort being made in both countries to influence men, especially demobilized war workers, both military and civilian, to go into agriculture and, for meeting the needs of home consumption, to increase the amount of land under tillage.

In general, in Great Britain working class dwelling houses, whether in town or country, are of solid masonry, either stone or brick, and, except in the cities, are without cellars or basements. The outside walls are mostly solid without any air space for insulation against temperature and moisture. The inside plastering is placed directly on the interior surface of these masonry walls. The ground flooring is of brick, tile or stone. The water supply is usually limited to a tap outside, frequently serving several tenements, in cases several separate dwellings, and it is the exception where the equipment includes an inside sink and supply of running water. Except in some

of the houses built within the last twenty-five years, there are practically no bathrooms. Even in the rather fine Liverpool tenements built by the municipality in 1885 the apartments have no direct water or sewer connection, both being located in the hallways of the building and for the use of two to four families. Most of the urban workmen's tenements in Great Britain are without yard space and therefore provide no opportunity for gardens. The heating is from open fires and the window spaces are in general rather small. Altogether, the average workman's tenement in Great Britain is likely to be dark, damp and chilly during most of the year. Whereas this is true of the older houses, built twenty-five or fifty or more years ago, comprising the generality of this class of dwellings, it is quite otherwise with the houses built in several of the more recent community and industrial developments, such as at Letchworth or Ealing, built and managed by voluntary societies, or at Bournville, the queen among England's working-class towns, built by a private employer but later turned over to the public to administer, or as at Liverpool where the municipal corporation, after wiping out numerous "slums," has substituted many fine examples of modern city housing for the poorer

classes. Although these are structurally similar to the older tenements, they are bright and attractive inside, and neat and interesting architecturally outside. In most cases, they have ample garden and lawn spaces about them. The solid masonry of the older houses makes it difficult, though not impracticable, to introduce modern conveniences and to improve the appearance inside and out and add to the comfort of the inhabitants.

With a few notable exceptions, such as in the mining districts, the industrial companies of Great Britain have concerned themselves but little with the housing of their employees. There have been comparatively few towns built up, as in the case of Port Sunlight, directly as integral parts of manufacturing establishments.

In general, the houses in which the industrial workers of Great Britain must necessarily live, though not unsanitary or unhealthy in construction or situation, are comparatively old and out-of-date and largely without modern conveniences and hence fail to foster any spirit of orderliness, neatness or cleanliness in their occupants. This makes difficult the creation and maintenance of a high type of social or civic spirit. The character of one's house and

the example of one's neighbor certainly influence one for good or evil, although there is foundation for the position taken before our Commission by a Liverpool physician to the effect that the slums of Liverpool are made by the occupants and not by the builders or owners. In this connection, there is an interesting feature noticeable in the finish of the front doorways of the most recent municipal tenements in Liverpool. The locks and latches are of fine brass. Comment on this feature brought out the purpose from Mr. Turtin, director of housing. The condition of the "handle of the big front door" reflects the general condition within. By this simple device the work of inspection is made easier. These door latches represent the orderliness of the tenants within and at the same time give opportunity for the force of example to exert itself. Among these modern tenements, with all conveniences, there are palaces and slums alike. Yet the average condition is undoubtedly much better than was that of the homes of the very same people when living in the old slums from which they had been "dispossessed." Education, good example and opportunity will undoubtedly raise the general standard of living among a low-

rent population, but we shall never eradicate the varying degrees of human character.

The mining industry is one of the few in which to an appreciable extent (about one-third) the employers have provided housing for their employees. Whereas to this condition can hardly be attributed the specially low standard of housing conditions in the mining regions, it has brought severe criticism upon the mine owners and operators and has justly tended to fasten upon them a large measure of obligation for decent living quarters, as their industry is usually the only productive business in their immediate district. Both because of the dirty and continuous nature of the work, and the limited scope for the satisfactory grouping of dwellings within proximity of the mines, the living conditions in this industry have vied with the slums of the big cities in overcrowding, dirtiness and ill-health. Mining towns are sure to receive particular attention in Great Britain's house-building program.

In Great Britain local taxes on real estate and buildings are termed "rates." Rates are figured upon empirical rentable valuations of property. It seems to be the custom, if not the law, to assess these rates against tenants or

leaseholders so that rates become a charge against tenants in addition to rents. This custom has two distinct advantages compared with the usual practice in America. In the first place, it more definitely fixes the responsibility of citizenship in the tenant and the obligation to interest himself in local matters of government. Secondly, it enables the owner of a property more closely to figure the rent to be charged on account of eliminating those variations in cost of upkeep due to fluctuations in local taxes.

There are several anomalies in the demands of the wage-workers in Great Britain at the present time. On the one hand, they are demanding shorter hours of work, apparently beyond the limit of most efficient productivity, and on the other, increased wages and better and more houses. The enormous production and profligate use of munitions and other materials in connection with the prosecution of the war has given large masses of wage-earners the idea that, inasmuch as the products of labor could be provided and destroyed on so lavish a scale in time of war, similar lavishness can be continued in time of peace. They assume that houses can be provided at an expense of say £50,000,000 annually if the government

could afford to spend twenty-five or fifty times that amount on the prosecution of the war. They fail to appreciate that during more than four years of war people were living on the capital of the country and that continuance of that policy would quickly result in national bankruptcy. Furthermore, it is not always easy for tenants to recognize the relation between wages and rentals nor to understand that by a doubling of nominal wages in the building trades the nominal cost of houses, and hence nominal rentals, must inevitably double if capital, however owned, is to continue its work of providing homes for the individual. Still there is a source from which that sum of £50,000,000 annually for the building of homes might be provided without injury to the individual and with great benefit to the nation. A prominent authority has estimated that some 10,000 or 20,000 rich persons spend unnecessarily in luxury each year £50,000,000 or more.* If, through large taxes on luxuries, or perhaps an amplification of the existing graduated income tax, these sums heretofore spent on luxuries and, speaking broadly, the labor employed in making and distributing those luxuries, could be diverted to the building of houses, Great Brit-

* "The Division of the Product of Industry"—Arthur L. Bowley.

ain's housing problem would be quickly solved.

Modern housing legislation in Great Britain commenced with the "Laboring Classes Lodging Houses Act" of 1851, the principles of which were formulated by Lord Shaftsbury and upon which the present housing laws are largely based. The principal feature of this Act was the authority granted the public works loan commissioners for lending money to local authorities and to non-commercial building associations for the erection of dwellings for working people. Under this law a few small loans were made to philanthropic societies but, except to a very limited extent, it remained a dead letter for forty years, particularly as regards loans to local authorities.

The "Public Health Act" of 1875 materially amplified the powers of local authorities in making by-laws or ordinances relating to the laying out of streets, construction of sewers and buildings, and regarding sanitary conditions. Action under this law, however, seemed to create what is now known as "the New Slum"—the endless rows of monotonous brick or stone dwellings with nothing but paved streets in front and small, high-walled, ugly yards in the rear.

The "Cross and Torrens Acts," which were

passed a little later, again amplified the powers of the local authorities in dealing with housing matters and gave them specific commission to clear out slums.

In 1890 there was further legislation in the form of the "Housing of the Working Classes Act" largely embodying recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the housing of the working classes in 1885. This act consolidated housing measures in all previous acts and included new provisions, in general enlarging powers previously granted, particularly in reference to the clearing of slums, coupled with the general obligation of rehousing dispossessed tenants. It also gave authority to deal with single houses or small groups of unsanitary or poorly planned character and materially strengthened local authorities in fostering, planning, financing and otherwise developing community housing.

Coincident with this legislative development, other agencies were at work in the improvement of housing conditions and in arousing the public interest in the subject. In 1879, George Cadbury started the village of Bournville. In 1869, Liverpool opened its first municipal tenement building and in 1885, with the aid of the national government, it entered upon a much

more elaborate scheme which comprised five blocks containing 269 tenements. In 1895, Sir William Lever founded Port Sunlight. In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published his book entitled "Garden Cities of To-morrow" which was followed a year later by the incorporation of the Garden City Association. Organized labor then took up the matter and largely as a result of the work of the Trades Union Congress, the National Housing Reform Council was set up in 1906, which led to the framing and passage of "The Housing and Town Planning Act" of 1909.

This act of 1909 was popularly known as the "John Burns Act" as Burns was president of the Local Government Board at the time and piloted the legislation to its passage. Besides re-enacting the statute of 1890, it virtually extended the powers of the local authorities and the Local Government Board from matters of house planning to those of town planning. It established a system of nation-wide housing inspection under the sanitary authorities, who were to report to the Local Government Board, and it extended and amplified the policy of national government aid.

Under the Act of 1909, local authorities were

permitted to borrow from the Public Works Loan Commissioner on the security of their rates (local taxes). The maximum period for which this loan might run was eighty years for land and sixty years for buildings, and without limit as to value. These obligations were virtually serial notes payable annually with a low rate of interest which has ranged from 3½ per cent up to 5½ per cent (reached during the war). Developments which came within the scope of the London County Council might be financed by the issue of consolidated stock. Developments by societies, corporations, and private individuals, subject to limitations as to interest and dividends and only for large-scale construction of working men's dwellings, might be aided financially through the Public Works Loan Board on essentially the same terms as local government schemes. The needs of the individual workers were met by the "Small Dwellings Acquisition Act" of 1899, which permits local authorities to advance sums of not over £300 representing not more than four-fifths of the market value of a house whose total value must not exceed £400.*

*(a) Persons housed in England to 1916 through Constructive Housing Legislation 528,742
(See p. 72, "What Is a House?")

The local government of Scotland being quite distinct from that of England and Wales, housing and town planning legislation for Scotland has been through entirely separate Acts of Parliament and the local government of Scotland.* However, the general trend of legislation and the plan of administration through the Local Government Board for Scotland and the local councils and officials were essentially the same as in the case of England and Wales.† Housing in Ireland has received similar legislative attention.

Following agitation due to the extreme shortage and bad conditions of housing largely resulting from the war, the government has introduced housing bills in Parliament, both for England and Wales and for Scotland, with a

(b) Public funds invested in housing in England:

Loaned to Local Authorities in England and Wales..	£3,972,390
Loaned to Societies and Individuals in England.....	3,260,078
Loaned under Small Dwellings Acquisition Act in England	408,129
Total to March 31, 1916.....	£7,640,597

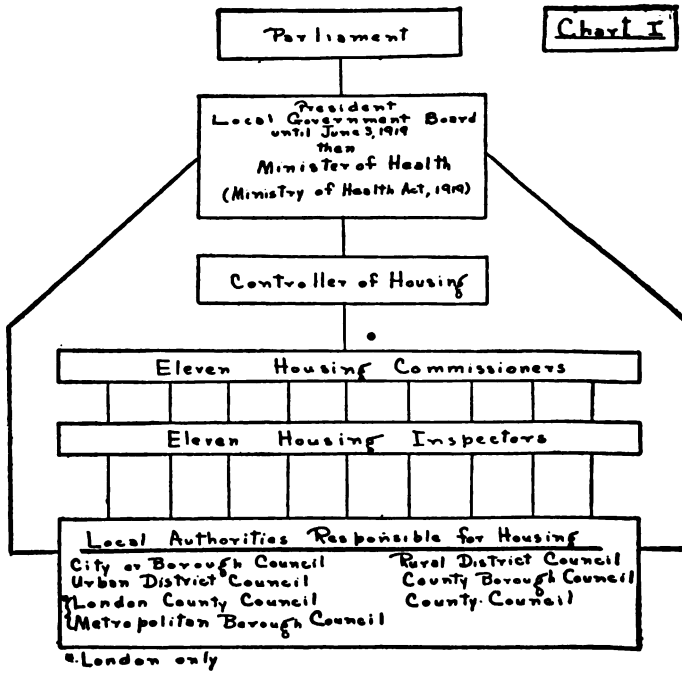
(From 45th Annual Report Public Works Loan Board 1915-16)

(c) Developments for which Government loans were made through 1914:

Urban	179
Rural	70
Total	249

*1. Local Government (Scotland) Acts 1889, 1894, 1908.
2. Burgh Police (Scotland) Acts 1892, 1903.
3. Public Health (Scotland) Act 1897.
4. Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899.
5. Housing of the Working Classes Acts 1890, 1900, 1903.
6. Housing and Town Planning Act 1909.

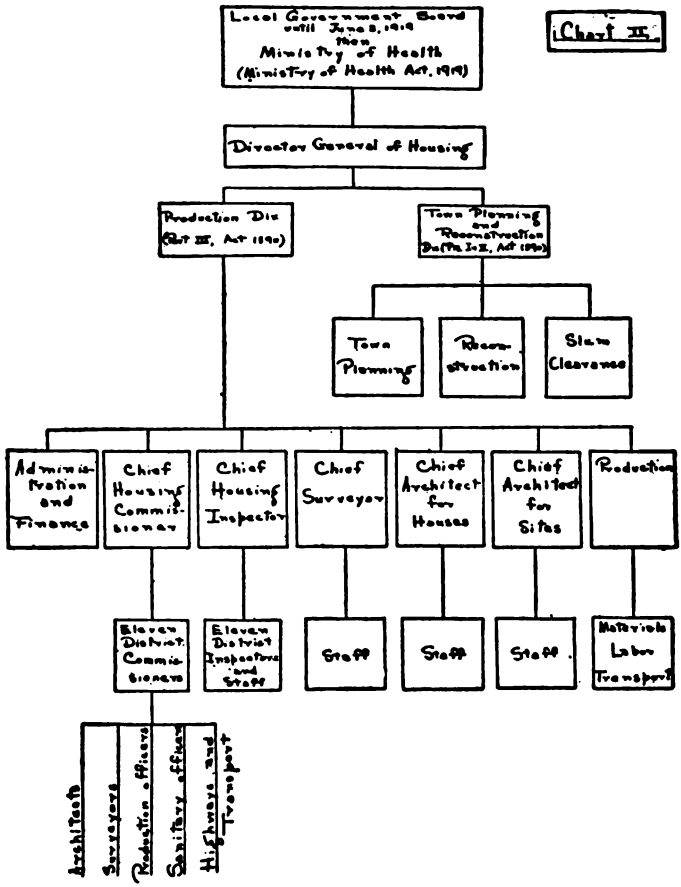
† See Charts I, II, and III, illustrating government organization for the administration of laws with respect to housing and town plannings in England, and Wales and Scotland.



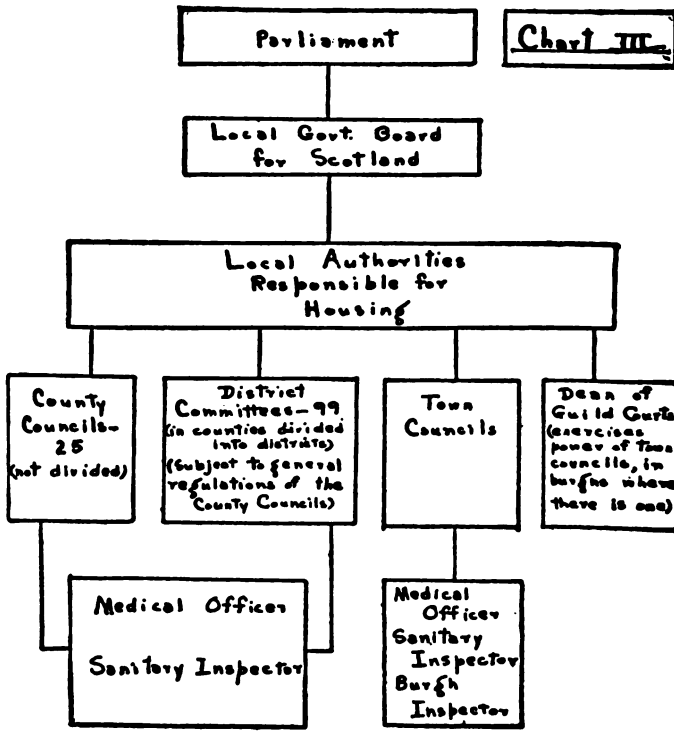
Note:- England and Wales are divided into eleven housing areas

The Ministry of Reconstruction has no active part in provision of Housing, is purely an advisory body to the government, and therefore should not appear in the chart

I. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING LAWS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.



II. Government Organization for the Administration of Housing and Town Planning Laws in England and Wales.



Note:— There are:

107 local authorities in county areas
203 " " burghs

III. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING LAWS IN SCOTLAND.

view to correcting present shortcomings. One purpose of these bills is to force local authorities to act in preparing plans for the necessary housing schemes within their territories and then for carrying out construction, failing which the Local Government Board (changed to Ministry of Health under act of June 3, 1919) is itself to formulate and carry out such developments as it deems necessary. The local and central authorities are to be given additional powers in the acquisition of land and the building of houses. The financial aid to be extended by government is to be increased to three-fourths of the total value. Virtually the same financial assistance may be extended to public utility societies whose objects include the erection, improvement and management of houses for the working classes, and local authorities may assist in the formation of such societies and participate in their management. In order to overcome the natural hesitancy of capital to seek housing investments, due to present high post-war costs, it is proposed that subsidies be granted by the national government to the extent of 40 per cent of three-fourths of the value, or 25 per cent of the total value. These subsidies, whether or not to the maximum of three-fourths value, would be in

the form of a remittance of principal and interest from each annual payment due to government on account of loans advanced.

The transfer of the administration of housing conditions in England and Wales from the Local Government Board to the Ministry of Health is considered a very desirable change by town-planning experts in Great Britain. Whereas under the Act of June 3, 1919, it may be assumed that the general organization * and staff employed under the Local Government Board for the administration of housing and town planning laws will be continued for the present by the Minister of Health, nevertheless an amplification of the service rendered by the national authorities to the local authorities will be necessary in order satisfactorily to handle the large housing developments which will undoubtedly now occur. This is evidenced in the action already taken by the Ministry of Health in establishing commissioners in each important region with authority to represent the ministry in all ordinary matters involving the approval of housing schemes. This will materially facilitate action and be a distinct advantage to local authorities. Co-ordination in the work of the commissioners will be effected

* See Charts I and II, pages 384-85.

by regular meetings of the commissioners in London.

The foregoing review of housing legislation and its results, and of the plans for meeting the needs resulting from the war, indicate Great Britain's governmental policy in providing homes for her working classes. Beginning with 1851 the national government has been assuming more and more responsibility not only for housing conditions, but for providing aid in financing. Recent legislation shows a tendency to go further and possibly limit or control rentals, even to subsidizing the business from the public revenues. It is doubtful, however, if this latter tendency will persist, since government cannot subsidize all industries and businesses without precipitating insolvency, and the business of housing is so extensive that the government could not go far in subsidizing it before realizing the impracticability of the venture on any large scale. Already government interference with private investment in the matter of rentals and otherwise, particularly under the law of 1909, has made capital very cautious in this field of investment. This condition, coupled with the rapidly increasing cost of building due to increasing wages and restrictive measures by or-

ganized labor in the building and building materials trades, resulted in a gradual decline in the number of houses built in Great Britain from 130,000 in 1906 to 56,000 in 1913.

The important policies evidenced in British Housing Legislation are:

1. The responsibility of the national government for general housing conditions, both quality and quantity, and including the clearing of slum areas.

2. The responsibility of local authorities for housing and town planning conditions within their territory, with a large measure of authority for providing houses for their citizens when private provision is inadequate.

3. Financial aid in the form of long-time loans at low interests rates to

(a) Local government authorities;
(b) Public utility societies;
(c) Individuals through the local government authorities.

Whereas for the purposes of this inquiry legislative features are of chief importance, laws are simply the outcome of social experience and define the minimum standards and measures of governmental assistance for the guidance and purposes of private individual effort. Just as the unsanitary and otherwise in-

tolerable living conditions arising out of negligent and mercenary private landlordism have forced governmental control over conditions through legislation, so, on the other hand, have the progressive individual efforts and initiative been instrumental in leading government and the public materially to better conditions. Therefore, whereas legislation in Great Britain has had an essential place and a great influence in bringing improved conditions, private initiative has led the way. Whereas the national government has loaned £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 to local government authorities for municipal developments and to public utility societies for semi-public developments, it is interesting to note that prior to the war the amount annually advanced on mortgages to individuals and societies by building societies, cooperative societies and trades unions was over £9,000,000. Furthermore, varying slightly from this service we find that industrial cooperative societies formed purely for financial aid to their members had assisted in providing houses for the working classes through 1913 to the extent of nearly £10,000,000.

However, in all large-scale tenantry it is essential that there should be a large measure of governmental control over conditions. Under

the laws previously described, some hundred or more developments have been made and are being operated by municipalities and approximately to a similar extent have there been developments by public utility societies. The municipal developments have been made chiefly in connection with the clearing of slums and have been reserved for the benefit of "dispossessed" tenants. The developments by public utility societies, however, have been primarily for the purpose of providing new and better community housing, chiefly in suburban and industrial sections.

Public utility societies were authorized by the "Industrial and Provident Societies Act" of 1893 for carrying on certain industries, businesses or trades specified in the act, one of which must include the provision of working-class houses. These societies are all of a co-operative nature and the ordinary shares of each are owned by its members, no share, however, exceeding £200 par value. The share capital for development and operation may be acquired in larger amounts through the issuance of "loan stock" which might be characterized as debentures or preferred stock. No interest or dividends may be paid exceeding the statutory limit which is at present 5 per cent, though

it is proposed under the pending housing bills to increase this to 6 per cent. The owners of ordinary shares participate both in the facilities provided by the societies and in their management. Profits may be reserved for improvements and the dividends on ordinary shares are usually credited to tenants against future payments of rent. This form of organization has shown itself to be particularly well adapted to community housing, involving as it does the possibility of complete co-operation between capital, government and tenant. Employers may participate through ownership of loan stock and local authorities may be represented upon the board of management. Among those who have been most prominent in promoting this form of village development and management is Henry Vivian. He is chairman of the board of directors of "Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd.," an organization or consolidation of fifteen co-partnership societies formed under the "Industrial and Provident Societies act" of 1893. As previously stated, there are approximately a hundred of these public utility society developments in Great Britain including in their number the important pioneer garden villages of Bournville, Letchworth and Port Sunlight. These villages have about 12,000

houses and 50,000 population. Whereas this is a very small percentage of the total number of 8,000,000 tenements and 40,000,000 people in England and Wales, the progress and results thus far accomplished by this form of housing organization justify close study by America. Although our state laws are none too favorable, there are at least a few cases in which essentially this plan of organization has been followed.

With a view to avoiding unnecessary delay in meeting the extensive housing needs of the nation, the Local Government Board on February 6, 1919, issued a statement offering to local authorities and public utility societies virtually the same measure and plan of government financial assistance as that contemplated by proposed new legislation and since included in the government housing bills. A further statement, amplifying the measures of financial assistance to public utility societies, was issued on March 24. This aid would be in the form of government loans which would be liquidated by annuity payments over a period not exceeding fifty years and would be issued up to three-fourths of the total value and include the same plan of government subsidies to the extent of 25 per cent of total value as contemplated in

pending legislation just described, with the additional provision, however, in the case of public utility societies that "any profits of the society in excess of 6 per cent shall be devoted in whole or in part as may be required by the Local Government Board toward the repayment of sums received from the Exchequer by way of subsidy during the currency of the loan." Furthermore, the government has just appointed a new official in connection with housing—a Director of Propaganda. His duties will be to arouse and maintain general interest in housing matters and it is proposed that he work through a subordinate attached to each of the thirteen regional commissioners. The financial assistance to local authorities is to be calculated on a basis estimated to relieve the local authorities of the burden of any annual deficit in expenses of operation to the extent of the excess in the local tax "rates" of a penny on the pound, assessable against the area in question, and there would be no donation by government toward the cost where the annual excess of expenditure over income would not exceed that amount.

Under the proposed housing legislation and the financial assistance offered by the Local Government Board, as just described, the board

estimated on April 28 that the capital expenditure by government during the three years of the proposed government assistance would amount to a total of £300,000,000 for England and Wales, based upon an average capital cost per house of £600 and the net deficit to be met out of public funds on account of subsidies to public utility societies, contributions toward the cost of operation in the case of developments by local authorities, would amount to £6,500,000. Similar figures for Scotland would be £39,000,000 capital expenditure and £845,000 net deficit.

Under the plans for government assistance promulgated by the Local Government Board February 6 and March 24, 1936 schemes had been submitted up to May 31 by 660 local authorities and 36 public utility societies. The total area of the sites covered by these schemes was about 25,000 acres and the number of houses 250,000. Five hundred and seventy-four sites covering nearly 10,000 acres had been approved by the board; 202 applications covering 13,364 houses for the approval of house plans had been received, of which 107 applications, providing for 5,201 houses, had been approved.

These results in some respects have been disappointing. It was expected that the new terms

favoring public utility societies would encourage the formation of many more such associations than has been the case. It is now proposed to make the terms still more favorable to such organizations before the pending bill becomes an act. As the matter stands, many of the large housing schemes contemplated by the larger manufacturing concerns under the public utility society plan have been abandoned. This is unfortunate inasmuch as this form of housing development, based upon co-operation between employers and employed, has proved very satisfactory as far as it has had a chance to assert itself under the present law.

Even though the effect of the government proposals thus far has not been fully up to expectations, there is great activity both inside and outside of government circles in all matters relating to housing. A Housing Board, consisting of three prominent members of Parliament, has been appointed to deal with the problems of Greater London. Independently of this, a director of housing has been appointed by the London County Council. Under the direction of these officials it is expected that 30,000 workingmen's houses will be built during the next three years within the area governed by the London County Council. In various sec-

tions of the country exhibitions are being given of all kinds of building materials and interior fittings and household labor-saving devices. Building material price lists are issued frequently to all local authorities, pricing every item required for building work. An interesting example in co-operation between employer and employed has just occurred at Shrewsbury in developing plans for a village to be erected for the work people of the Sentinel Wagon Works. The public utility society formed for this project is made up largely of employees of the wagon works. Through them practically every detail of the plans, both for the town and the individual houses, was submitted to the employees and their families and after their answers have been carefully considered, they will be incorporated as far as possible in carrying out the work.

II.

France's Determined Efforts to House Her People.

There are four general classes of dwellings in France to which this inquiry applies in greater or less measure:

1. Tenements in the larger cities.
2. Tenements in the smaller industrial and commercial cities and towns.
3. Private developments connected with individual plants or industries.
4. Housing in agricultural towns.

In the case of all four classes, existing buildings are usually of solid masonry, although in country villages the use of wood for interior walls and even for framing or re-enforcement in exterior walls is much more common than in Great Britain. The brickwork in these buildings is generally good, though the mortar, apparently made of lime with little or no cement, lacks solidity. Throughout northern France is an underlying stratum of soft limestone, which is used for housebuilding in many sec-

tions such as the Argonne. It is set up as a crude rubble, making a kind of soft concrete. Walls thus formed are very porous, and being almost invariably solid, without air space or other insulation against moisture, the rooms are damp in wet weather. In most cases the surfaces of the walls, inside and out, either of brick or stone, have the plastering directly applied. Except in the larger cities and in the fortified towns the houses are generally without cellars. The roofs in the smaller cities and in the villages are mostly of tile or slate laid on a wooden framework.

"Modern conveniences," so general in America, are virtually unknown in all but the more recent constructions. Running water and sinks inside the house or tenement are practically unknown. Even in Paris, famous for its big sewers, it is still a common thing in some quarters to see lines of women washing clothes along the edge of a canal or in the public washhouses of the Seine. Notwithstanding the usual neat appearance around the front door or main entrance of the house or tenement, the standard of French household sanitation is deplorably low. At the least, it must be said that there is certainly great room for improvement in this respect.

Aside from a few tenements built by philanthropists, little effective effort has been made in France to improve the living conditions of the working classes in the large cities. The best examples of model city tenements are those in Paris built by Baron Rothschild. One of these, visited by the writer, is a group of buildings of the best type of fireproof construction throughout. Each tenement has water and sewer connection, electric lights, and gas for cooking. Within the group are schools for children of different ages and a day nursery. Attached are a laundry and a public bakery, both for neighborhood service.

In the housing of the great majority of French industrial workers the employers as such have no direct interest or participation. The situation in Roubaix may be taken as typical of northern France, where the workers' tenements are usually long rows of two-story brick buildings with a common water supply and a drain in the courtyard in the back. The tenements vary mostly from three to five rooms, with usually a small garden space or area, used for laundry yard or miniature garden. Some of the tenements front directly on the street and the others on the courtyards which

connect with the street by an archway through the front wall of the building.

In the case of the coal mining industry, as distinguished from other classes, houses are usually supplied by the employers for the workers near the mines. These are called *corons*. They are in general rather unattractive detached brick houses of uniform design. The best example of *corons* before the war was in the coal village of Dourges. There is a rather limited number of special housing developments in connection with industrial plants, such as the village adjoining the Thiers cotton mill at Lille and the village built in connection with the Regnault & Citroën works near Paris. Also at Draveil, near Paris, there is a good type of village built and run on the co-operative tenants' plan, like the various British co-operative tenants societies.

In general, however, "city planning" and architecture as evidenced in the development of industrial towns and communities are astonishingly poor in France and behind the times for a country which in other similar fields has so excelled.

Generally throughout France the farming classes are grouped together in villages. This arrangement, while requiring much going back

and forth from village to field, has distinct social and economic advantages, such as in co-operative buying and selling and in schools, public service, water supply, drainage, lighting, etc. In the rebuilding of these agricultural villages in the devastated regions there is an opportunity which should not be lost for great improvement in these matters.

As already stated, we may consider the present housing needs of France to be measured by the destruction in the devastated area. Whether or not other districts are short of housing facilities, the real and immediate need is in reconstruction. Although it is probable that 90 per cent of the former inhabitants of the devastated area will try with touching insistence to rehabilitate their homes, it is thought by many that some villages and cities that have been entirely destroyed should and will never be rebuilt. The number of people in the invaded French territory whose homes have been made uninhabitable is estimated to be over two millions. The number of dwelling houses destroyed was 240,000; those damaged beyond repair, 170,000; a total rendered uninhabitable of 410,000, with a pre-war value of 8,000,000,000 francs or $1,500,000,000.* The cost of

* Approximate figure at normal rate of exchange.

building in France has trebled in the last five years, so that assuming only actual replacemen in original form the total expense of reconstruction at present costs would be 24,000,000,000 francs or $4,500,000,000.* However, if modern improvements and conveniences are to be included in the work of rebuilding, the total expense may be materially in excess of that figure. When added to the sums necessary for the rehabilitation of the industries, agricultural properties, churches and public property, the total is indeed such as to justify the insistence of the French people that guarantees of full indemnity by Germany should be insured as the only right means, if not the only possible means, for maintaining the national solvency. Compare this housing budget of $4,500,000,000 with $300,000,000 in indemnities exacted of France by her enemies following her defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, and again with the indemnity of $1,000,000,000 wrung from her by Germany in 1870.

There are several serious economic obstacles to a prompt solution of the present housing problems of northern France. The industries of the region cannot be started until the working people return, but they cannot return and go

* Approximate figure at normal rate of exchange.

to work until housing has been provided. There is also the question of finding some gainful occupation after returning and prior to the restarting of the industries. Although those with strength and ability to engage in construction work will probably find such interim employment, the government in attempting to provide temporary housing for returning refugees in the form of demountable barracks which were used by the Allies for camps and hospitals. Although it has been usual in France to find a very large percentage of trained mechanics with ability to turn their hands to almost any work, this class has been much reduced in numbers by the war and this will probably prevent the rebuilding of homes by their owners, which otherwise would undoubtedly have occurred. As to materials, the difficulties are perhaps more serious. With much depleted supplies of raw materials and enormous adverse trade balances against her, and no possibility of a material exportable surplus in the near future, it is not easy to figure out how France is going to import those supplies, however few, which may be essential to supplement what she herself can provide. While American credits alone do not offer a solution satisfactory to France, they may be the only way out of the difficulty. A

reliable authority estimates the amount of rebuilding that will have been started or contracted by January, 1920, throughout the devastated area, as 10 per cent of all required, involving a cost of $450,000,000.

Inspired by the opportunity for improvement in planning and achievement which the reconstruction of the devastated regions presented, the government enacted a Town Planning Law, on March 14, 1919.*

Under this law, every city in France of 10,000 inhabitants and more is obligated to work out, prior to March 15, 1922, a comprehensive plan covering all matters of municipal development (roads, squares, playgrounds, parks, monuments, public buildings, etc.), inclusive of works and utilities for the convenience and health of the public (waterworks, sewers, etc.). The provisions apply equally to rapidly growing towns of more than 5,000 population and to populous seasonal communities (such as bathing resorts) and to places of historic interest and importance, and finally to housing undertakings by associations, societies or individuals. Aside from the present devastation, in case of future partial or total destruction of an urban

* A limited supply of an English translation of this law is available and copies will be distributed gratis upon letter application to The National Civic Federation, Thirty-third Floor, Metropolitan Tower, New York City.

district by war, fire, earthquake, or otherwise, the local government must within three months provide a comprehensive plan for the relaying out, beautifying and redevelopment of the damaged district. The local authorities are obligated to re-establish private property lines as well as the bounds of public ways.*

The cost of reconstruction plans, except for places of over 5,000 inhabitants, are to be charged against the national government. A commission is to be set up in the prefecture of each department to supervise the local administration of the law, investigate the needs of a community, and criticize and approve plans. Above these local commissions, a higher commission in the Ministry of the Interior under the presidency of the minister is charged with the general administration of the law and the guidance of the local commissions.

An important provision of the law in connection with housing is the requirement that associations, societies or individuals contemplating the building of a group of dwellings must file with the town officials details of their plans, which will await approval of the local commission. A purpose of this regulation is to

* This last clause will serve to nullify to large degree many of the desired improvements as may be understood by any one familiar with the narrow, winding streets of the average French town.

harmonize the architecture of a neighborhood.

The French Ministry of Reconstruction has two departments; one headed by M. Loucheur, as Minister of Industrial Reconstruction, the other by M. A. Lebrun, Minister of Liberated Regions, the latter having supervision over the rebuilding of homes and other physical features.

During the early part of the war, the American Red Cross devoted considerable effort to the rebuilding of homes in the devastated regions. Later it abandoned work in this line with the exception of matters of research, cooperating in this respect with the French government. Since the armistice, it has arranged to withdraw from direct participation in research also, leaving the French government to continue it. Considerable work has been done in determining the possibilities of using materials from the damaged and destroyed buildings in the work of reconstruction. For instance, the use of broken stones and bricks as basic material for concrete for walls and floors has been investigated.

An organization known as the Office de Bâtiments, an association of architects, engineers, public works officials, and building contractors and distributers of building supplies, has been recognized by the French government as a

semi-official agency for reconstruction.* Among the research, statistical and propagandist organizations, the Musée Social has a semi-official standing through its long period of work, covering twenty-five years. M. Risler, formerly a textile manufacturer, directs this organization's efforts in aiding the government and individuals in the general work of rebuilding cities, villages, and homes along the proper and most advanced lines. An organization with high government officials among its directorate is known as Les Villages Liberés. Its chief object is to arrange the necessary financing for the rebuilding of damaged and destroyed villages.† Originally its efforts were directed to getting donations to cover the cost of rebuilding. Under this plan, through the gift of an American, Vitremont, which has already been rebuilt, stands as a model for the reconstruction of agricultural villages. More recently, especially since the passage of the Town Planning and War Indemnity laws, efforts to get contributions for the major items of reconstruction have ceased, and the organization is trying to foster capital investments in the re-

* It might be noted that *no* contractor may do work unless accepted by the Office de Bâtiments which is careful to accept only French contractors who are persona grata to the administration.

† The American section of the committee representing this organization is headed by Miss Belle Skinner of Holyoke, Mass.

building of villages under the terms of the War Indemnity law and also to find givers of funds to provide for the features of village and house reconstruction which are considered essential to modern comfort and health but not included in the things for which the government stands sponsor.

There are numerous private organizations for aiding in the work of reconstruction. One of the most prominent and influential is La Renaissance des Cités, a purely propagandist body of which Mr. George B. Ford, previously mentioned, is president. The directors include French experts in various fields—social welfare, journalism, architecture and building construction. The organization undertakes through publications and meetings to advise individuals, industrial and other associations, and city and town authorities as to the best ways and means in rebuilding. It is particularly interested in introducing at minimum costs all possible improvements for home and community life (water supplies, sewers, lighting, heating, etc.), at the same time insuring architectural attractiveness. Still another organization, with many prominent Frenchmen on its directorate, is known as La Plus Grande Famille. This undertaking is more especially

to aid people with large families in the rehabilitation of their homes.

Well attended conferences, both national and international, have been held in Paris with the object of collecting information for the public good in connection with house and town planning and aiding generally in the work of reconstruction. More are scheduled to follow. In all these efforts there is evident a keen desire on the part of the more influential and better-informed citizens to reorganize French home and community living in order to conform with the best hygienic and sanitary practice in other parts of the world, with advantage, if possible, to the architectural results.

The time taken by the Peace Conference was for several months a serious handicap to the people of the devastated regions in their plans for reconstruction. The popular demand for action finally became so great that the French government, without waiting for the conclusion of peace terms but in expectation of compensation from Germany, enacted a war indemnity law * on April 18, 1919. The general purpose

* A limited supply of an English translation of this law is available and copies will be distributed gratis upon letter application to The National Civic Federation, Metropolitan Tower, New York City. The law is retarding and will greatly delay reconstruction. It is estimated that the French proportion of the greatest sum which Germany can possibly pay will not begin to cover even the original cost of the property destroyed; but the average Frenchman is waiting and will continue to wait for complete reimbursement for the total loss. Then, too, it will take years, under the methods devised, to estimate and pass upon the thousands of claims which must be examined.

of this law is to make reparation by the state for all physical damage arising from the war.

The law recognizes and proclaims in the first place the equality and solidarity of the French people and the obligation of the state for all physical damage caused by acts of war. Financial losses thus occurring are divided into two general classes:

I. Losses based upon the pre-war value (value at time of military mobilization in July, 1914) of all properties injured or destroyed.

II. The increased cost of replacement of such properties (over and above pre-war value) due to war increases in costs of materials and labor. In general, the national government undertakes to repay all losses in class I. Payment for class II losses depends upon "re-investment" by the owner.

Thus through this war indemnity act the national government undertakes to make payment for the primary losses whether or not reconstruction or re-investment is effected. Whereas cash is to be paid for rebuilding, in case reconstruction is not entered into, instead of cash, covering both classes of indemnity, class I losses only are paid, which is done in the form of an untransferable note, running for five years, then to be exchanged for ten serial notes

running from one to ten years and all (both the original five-year note and the serial notes) bearing interest at 5 per cent. However, if the injured party can prove that cash payments are necessary for productive work, this may be arranged, when approved by the proper authorities, by waiving the non-transferable feature of the notes or otherwise.

In the determination of the losses of class II, the question arises of depreciation of the property; that is, the difference between the cost of replacement at the time of mobilization and the estimated value on that date, taking into account possible deterioration. This item, up to 10,000 francs, is borne by the state. Any increments over that figure must be borne by the owner. However, where desired, the government, subject to certain limitations, will advance amounts over 10,000 francs, to be repaid the state in annual payments during a period of twenty-five years, with interest at 3 per cent. Beyond this, the additional cost of building due to the war is borne by the state, payment to be made only in case actual reconstruction takes place within a reasonable time and within fifty kilometers of the original location, at some point within the devastated area.

The general provisions of the law are very

broad and intended to cover damage to all classes of real property, both immovable and movable, and whether in the form of manufactured products or natural growths, or lands. However, losses on stocks of raw material, merchandise, agricultural tools, etc., are treated as subsidiary obligations to the extent that their replacement may not be strictly required for restarting necessary productive work.

The administration of the law will be under the general direction of the Ministry of Reconstruction, working through local governments and special committees appointed by them. At last accounts, the particular forms of notes, claims, and other financial documents which the working of the law will require had not yet been determined. However, it is expected that a national organization, to be known as the Bank of Reconstruction, will be organized for the discounting of notes and other documents resulting from the law. Payment of indemnities, including interest and other advances, will be made directly by the state or under its guaranty or through authorized local banking establishments. Claims or vouchers, clearly defining the losses suffered and the costs of reconstruction and other features, must be approved by local government bodies.

III.

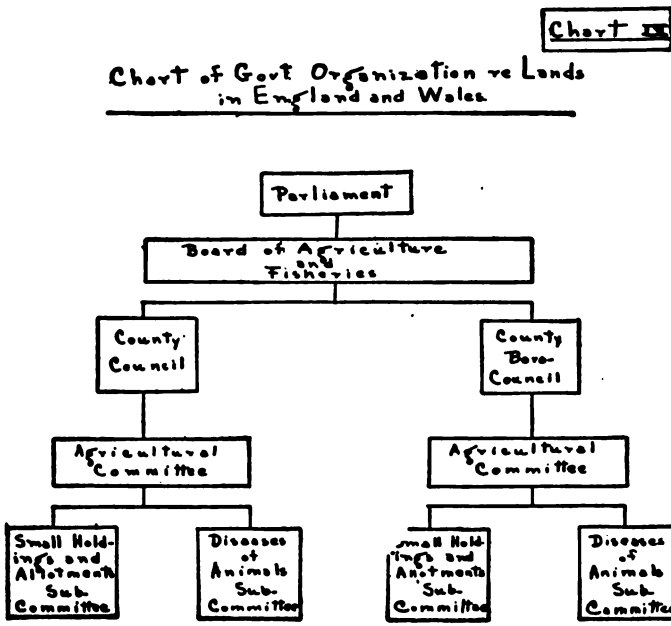
Back to the Land.

In line with the governmental policy on the housing of workers in Great Britain, aid was provided by the "Small Holdings and Allotments Act" of 1908 for those who desired to settle on small rural properties. This gave power to the County Councils, acting under the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, to acquire land for lease or sale on easy terms to citizens desiring to settle upon and cultivate the lands. Funds for this purpose might be loaned to the County Councils by the Public Works Loan Board, subject to appropriations by Parliament. Operations under this law were comparatively small, the loans by the national government in the seven years preceding the war amounting to approximately £5,000,000. During the same period the expenses of all kinds for the administration of the act were over £250,000, or 5 per cent on the capital loan expenditure.

With a view further to meeting the demands

of demobilized soldiers and others for the acquisition of small agricultural properties, and also for the purpose of fostering improvement and economy in agricultural methods and organization, the government has recently introduced into Parliament two bills. One is the "Acquisition of Land (Assessment Compensation) Bill" under which the purchase of land by government for agricultural and housing developments and other public purposes would be facilitated, and the other the "Land Settlement (Facilities)* Bill." Under these Bills, County councils would be given increased authority in the acquisition of land for development into small agricultural holdings which would be financed by loans from the national government authorized through the Public Works Loan Board with guarantee to the County Councils against a loss in capital investment occurring within a period of seven years. The Settlement Bill contemplates not only the sale of land on easy terms, and the leasing of small holdings by County Councils to settlers and the advancing of funds for the purchase of stock and equipment, but, under the supervision of the Department of Agricul-

* Chart IV for governmental organization under present and proposed laws.



IV. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF EXISTING AND PROPOSED LAND LAWS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

ture and Fisheries, the operation of colonies for the training of agriculturists and also the formation of co-operative organizations for the purchase of current supplies and the distribution and sale of farm products. The special privileges granted by the Land Settlement Bill would be restricted to two years after its passage during which the sum of £20,000,000 would be applicable by the Public Works Loan Board for capital expenditure. It is estimated that this would be sufficient to provide somewhere between 15,000 and 50,000 holdings, the number depending upon the average size of holdings and the ratio between amounts of land leased and bought by county councils. About 15,000 applications for such holdings had been received in May. Probably the most significant feature of these measures is the direct participation of government in fostering co-operative organizations for the purchase of supplies, the cultivation of the soil with the latest improved agricultural machinery, and the sale and distribution of products.

In France, just as in the case of houses so also in the case of lands, the primary problem has to do with the devastated area. In assisting refugees and demobilized soldiers and others to return to their former agricultural

pursuits, the French government is offering every possible means. Free transportation for the entire family and for necessary personal effects is furnished. Food for immediate needs and materials for urgent building repairs or reconstruction are supplied. The land is cleared of dangerous projectiles and the use of motor tractors provided. Cars are furnished for bringing back scattered livestock. Prisoners of war are supplied to a limited extent for reconstruction work. Loans, properly safeguarded, are granted for the purchase of necessary materials and services not properly falling within the field of reparation by the government. By other means the government is aiding in resettlement of the agricultural areas.

In providing homes and land for agricultural workers, our government, through its settled policies, has done much more than either Great Britain or France. It is true that we have done little or nothing in this field for those returning and retiring from military service, and possibly Secretary Lane's recent suggestions in this respect will receive favorable congressional action. Nevertheless, through our homestead and other laws vast areas of the public lands have been opened up to settlement by citizens, and considerable areas are yet avail-

able for this purpose. Sound financial aid is provided by our Federal Farm Loan system through customary and locally convenient channels, and instruction and advice as to cultivation and marketing are rapidly improving in availability through our highly progressive Federal and state agricultural departments. In one feature, however, we might advantageously follow the lead of Great Britain and France, namely, by fostering the growth of cooperative organizations for the purchase of agricultural tools and supplies and for the cultivation of the soil, the marketing of products, and the promotion of other helpful measures. In Great Britain, certainly, they have gone further in the development of these desirable features than have we in America, and further governmental efforts of this character are sorely needed in many of our older farming regions.

However much industrial conditions in America may differ from those in Great Britain and France, we certainly can learn much of value from both these countries, particularly the former, in connection with housing problems.

Whereas in this country we have been backward in large-scale planning of housing developments, urged on by the needs caused by

the war we are rapidly improving our position in this respect. Town planners have come to the front in large numbers and a very general interest has been aroused in better city and town housing among all classes—national and local government officials, employers and employed, and the public generally.

Although in France employers have heretofore given little attention to the housing of their employees, and in Great Britain the practice has not been general, employers in this country should be quick to rival the interest in this feature of the problem of the general welfare now being shown by European employers, particularly those of Great Britain. In November, 1917, the National Alliance of Employers and Employed appointed a sub-committee of employers, widely representing the most important trades, to study and report on the housing problem. Sir George Murray, the chief director of Armstrong's, the principal foundry in Great Britain, who was the leading member of this committee, publicly stated as his opinion that no employer should set up any works or business without providing complete housing for his workmen. Although this was not concurred in by all the other members of the committee, the obligation of the employer

to take an active part in seeing that his employees are properly housed was admitted by all. From the beginning of the present movement, employers in Great Britain have taken a leading part in the new national policy in regard to housing and more particularly in the development of plans and methods for private and co-operative action.

Employers as managers are virtually the medium for bringing capital and labor together into productive industrial relations. As such, they should certainly assume the responsibility for housing in their communities, at least to the extent of the numbers of their employees and families. If in such communities the housing conditions are not satisfactory or suitable, either in quality or quantity or otherwise, the employers as a class should be morally obligated to take such direct steps as are necessary to supply the deficiency.

In no sense, however, should this obligation extend into the field of paternalism. In ordinary circumstances the housing of the citizens of any country should *not* be a charge upon the public nor be provided by individual philanthropic effort. In a certain measure, it might be considered to be a charge upon industry, but never beyond the point where wages, in what-

ever form paid, can supply the necessary rental or purchase price, and enable the worker for the time being to be master of his home and as far as possible to participate in the management of the community in which he lives. In the case of isolated plants, employers should provide housing by direct action of their companies, and in thickly settled communities having a collection of industrial plants they should interest themselves in organizing and operating local housing companies like the public utility societies or co-operative tenants organizations of Great Britain, to the end that the employer and employed and the public may co-operate in establishing and maintaining the best housing conditions which the locality and industries can afford.

Labor has its share of responsibility for unsatisfactory conditions, in the past, as well as its obligations for the future. This is just as true in America as in Great Britain and France. No category of labor has acted more arbitrarily or to a greater extent monopolized the field of employment in all three countries than labor in the building trades. None has exacted a higher tribute from the working classes themselves, including their associates in organized labor in other industrial fields. The building trades

have repeatedly and insistently stood for short hours of work and high wages, far beyond the economic limit, and have enforced measures which have seriously restricted output. Although the American Federation of Labor has not always supported the contentions of its building trades members, it has very largely done so, and in this connection has imposed a serious and unnecessary charge upon not only its millions of individual members, but upon all of the workers in America, whether engaged in manual or clerical positions. Capital will not seek investment in property at excessive prices and returns below the standard rate of interest for sound investment. Nor will capital be able to provide habitable houses at reasonable rental, if they must be built at high and uneconomic labor costs. It makes no difference who owns the capital, the individual employer or the worker or the government, it cannot be made to provide houses which will not yield standard returns.

It is hardly necessary at this point to cite the evidence in support of these assertions. It is available in volume to those who will look for it. During the ten years preceding the war, the number of dwellings annually added to Great Britain's housing supply was radically

decreasing, owing largely to the restrictive measures and short hours and high wages in the building trades, lessening inducement to capital. In our own country as well, through the same period, labor in the building trades continuously and persistently forced the issue of shorter hours and higher wages, hampering improvements and measures of economy designed to meet advancing costs so that capital has in large measure been forced from the housing field.

Labor in the building trades, for its own good and for the good of its fellow laborers in other trades, should abandon its all too short working schedule and apply itself seriously and persistently, without hindrance from petty rules and restrictions regarding methods and output, to cutting the cost of housing to fellow workmen and generally to the improvement in housing conditions if it is to justify the wages which it is demanding from the public.

America has nothing like the need of either Great Britain or France for providing direct governmental aid to housing developments. Yet the shortage of houses throughout the United States is such that our Federal government should extend help in the situation, and fortunately it can do so with profit rather than

expense, without contravening any constitutional provision, without injury to any class, and with almost immeasurable relief to all the nation.

In so far as our federal reserve banking system has served both as an engine and balance wheel in making and maintaining sound conditions in our national banking and currency operations, and in so far as the Federal Farm Loan system has already in the short period of its existence standardized our mortgages and made them the basis of sound merchantable assets, to the great advantage of farmer and investor alike, so would a federal housing loan system prove of value toward providing all our industrial districts and perhaps urban communities with an adequate supply of good dwellings, and at the same time so improve the merchantable character of housing mortgage loan securities that any one, from the retired capitalist to the working man seeking a home, might make an investment and thus aid in this national improvement. Through such a system half of our housing assets might be changed from an almost unmerchantable character to one as liquid as the general run of United States government bonds.

The details of this system need not at this

time be defined lest it should divert from the fundamentals of the proposal itself. Senator Calder has introduced a bill into the present Congress which merits active public attention.

In some way credit and banking facilities should be set up, similar to those provided by the Federal Lands Banks, for the purchase of housing mortgage securities from subsidiary organizations, and for the issuance of bonds based upon such securities when scrutinized and approved by the necessary Federal authority, such as a Federal Housing Loan Board. As far as possible present channels should be utilized and left undisturbed by the operations of the system. Local building and loan associations, savings banks and trust companies would be the medium through which the individual or society would negotiate mortgage loans. Where, however, organization is insufficient to take care of the matter, the Federal Housing Loan Board should have the power to supply the deficiency.

Instead of establishing an entirely new system of banking and control for this purpose, present government systems and facilities should be used as far as possible—the Federal Farm Loan system for instance, which would have many features and services in common

with a housing loan system and be able to draw from the operations of such a system considerable advantage in economy of operation and in the averaging of its assets and the ability to broaden its field of activities. Such a federal housing loan system should also fit in and co-operate with and generally utilize as far as possible our Federal Reserve system. The records and experiences of the United States Housing Corporation, created to take care of our emergency war problems, should be preserved and amplified and kept up to date for the general public good, and perhaps, too, a federal housing research bureau might be added to this service at comparatively small expense. A suggestion along these lines has been made in a bill recently introduced by Congressman Tinkham, which merits serious attention. If, however, a Federal Housing Loan Board is to be established, these government services coming over from the United States Housing Corporation should be added to and become a part of the work of the Housing Loan system. Should such a housing loan system be provided, state laws should be brought into harmony with it where now antagonistic or not favorable to its work or where obstructive to the formation of co-operative and public utility housing com-

panies, many of which would undoubtedly and properly come into existence under its influences.

Whether or not the foregoing suggestions in regard to opportunities for co-operating in the improvement of our housing conditions receive favorable consideration, it is clear that employers and employed and the public generally should co-operate in this important matter, and, actuated by a real desire to serve, with the assurance of fair dealing, make America an example of the best accomplishment in the housing of her progressive, aggressive and rapidly increasing population.

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